MAGNIFICENCE

A MORAL PLAY

BY

JOHN SKELTON

EDITED

WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND GLOSSARY

BY

ROBERT LEE RAMSAY

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to the Board of University Studies of the
Johns Hopkins University in conformity with
the requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

1905

Early English Text Society

EXTRA SERIES, XCVIII

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ROBERT LEE RAMSAY, PH.D.,

ASSISTANT IN ENGLISH IN THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY,

FROM THE EDITION IN UNIV. LIBRARY, CAMBRIDGE,

WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND GLOSSARY.

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THE Early English Text Society was started by Dr. Furnivall in 1864 for the purpose of bringing the mass of Old English Literature within the reach of the ordinary student, and of wiping away the reproach under which England had long rested, of having felt little interest in the monuments of her early language and life.

On the starting of the Society, so many Texts of importance were at once taken in hand by its Editors, that it became necessary in 1867 to open, besides the *Original Series* with which the Society began, an *Extra Series* which should be mainly devoted to fresh editions of all that is most valuable in printed MSS. and Caxton's and other black-letter books, though first editions of MSS. will not be excluded when the convenience of issuing them demands their inclusion in the Extra Series.

During the forty-three years of the Society's existence, it has produced, with whatever shortcomings, and at a cost of over £30,000, an amount of good solid work for which all students of our Language, and some of our Literature, must be grateful, and which has rendered possible the beginnings (at least) of proper Histories and Dictionaries of that Language and Literature, and has illustrated the thoughts, the life, the manners and customs of our forefathers and foremothers.

But the Society's experience has shown the very small number of those inheritors of the speech of Cynewulf, Chaucer, and Shakspere, who care two guineas a year for the records of that speech. 'Let the dead past bury its dead' is still the cry of Great Britain and her Colonies, and of America, in the matter of language. The Society has never had money enough to produce the Texts that could easily have been got ready for it; and many Editors are now anxious to send to press the work they have prepared. The necessity has therefore arisen for trying to increase the number of the Society's members, and to induce its well-wishers to help it by gifts of money, either in one sum or by instalments. The Committee trust that every Member will bring before his or her friends and acquaintances the Society's claims for liberal support. Until all Early English MSS. are printed, no proper History of our Language or Social Life is possible.

The Subscription to the Society, which constitutes membership, is £1 1*s.* a year for the ORIGINAL SERIES, and £1 1*s.* for the EXTRA SERIES, due in advance on the 1st of JANUARY, and should be paid by Cheque, Postal Order, or Money-Order, crost 'Union of London and Smith's Bank,' to the Hon. Secretary, W. A. DALZIEL, Esq., 67, Victoria Rd., Finsbury Park, London, N. Members who want their Texts posted to them, must add to their prepaid Subscriptions 1*s.* for the Original Series, and 1*s.* for the Extra Series, yearly. The Society's Texts are also sold separately at the prices put after them in the Lists; but Members can get back-Texts at one-third less than the List-prices by sending the cash for them in advance to the Hon. Secretary.

☞ The Society intends to complete, as soon as its funds will allow, the Reprints of its out-of-print Texts of the year 1866, and also of nos. 20, 26, and 33. Dr. Otto Glauning has undertaken *Seinte Marherete;* and Dr. Furnivall has *Hali Meidenhad* in type. As the cost of these Reprints, if they were not needed, would have been devoted to fresh Texts, the Reprints will be sent to all Members in lieu of such Texts. Though called 'Reprints,' these books are new editions, generally with valuable additions, a fact not noticed by a few careless receivers of them, who have complained that they already had the volumes.

Jan. 1908. A gratifying gift is to be made to the Society. The American owner of the unique MS. of the Works of John Metham—whose Romance of Amoryus and Cleopas was sketcht by Dr. Furnivall in his new edition of *Political, Religious and Love Poems*, No. 15 in the Society's Original Series—has promist to give the Society an edition of his MS. prepared by Dr. Hardin Craig of Princeton, and it will be issued next year as No. 132 of the Original Series. The giver hopes that his example may be followed by other folk, as the support hitherto given to the Society is so far below that which it deserves.

The Original-Series Texts for 1906 were No. 130, Part II of the englishing, ab. 1450 A.D., of the Deeds in the *Register of Godstow Nunnery*, edited from the unique MS. by the Rev. Andrew Clark, LL.D.; No. 131, *The Brut*, or *The Chronicles of England*, edited from the best MSS. by Dr. F. Brie, Part I. No. 132, *John Metham's Works* mentiond above is at press, and will probably be issued in 1908 for 1906.

The Original-Series Texts for 1907 are, No. 133, Part I of the *English Register of Oseney Abbey, by Oxford*, edited by the Rev. Andrew Clark, LL.D., already issued, and No. 134, Part I of the *Coventry Leet Book*, copied and edited for the Society by Miss M. Dormer Harris—helpt by a contribution from the Common Council of the City,—which is publisht by the Society as its contribution to our knowledge of the provincial city life of the 15th century.

Among the Texts for 1908 and 1909 will be Part II of the *Coventry Leet Book*, copied and edited by Miss M. Dormer Harris; Capgrave's *Lives of St. Augustine and St. Gilbert of Sempringham*, edited from the unique MS. by Mr. J. J. Munro; *The Wars of Alexander* from the unique Thornton MS. edited by J. S. Westlake, M.A., and L. A. Magnus, Ll.B.; Part II of *The Brut;* Part III of the *Alphabet of Tales*, edited by Mrs. M. M. Banks; Part III of the *English Register of Godstow Nunnery;* and Part II of the *English Register of Oseney Abbey*, edited by the Rev. Dr. Andrew Clark. Future Texts will be Part III of Robert of Brunne's *Handlyng Synne*, edited by Dr. Furnivall, with a Glossary of Wm. of Wadington's French words in his *Manuel des Pechiez*, and comments on them, by Mr. Dickson-Brown; Part II of the *Exeter Book*—Anglo-Saxon Poems from the unique MS. in Exeter Cathedral—re-edited by Israel Gollancz, M.A.; Part II of Prof. Dr. Holthausen's *Vices and Virtues;* Part II of *Jacob's Well*, edited by Dr. Brandeis; the Alliterative *Siege of Jerusalem*, edited by the late Prof. Dr. E. Kölbing and Prof. Dr. Kaluza; an Introduction and Glossary to the *Minor Poems of the Vernon MS.* by H. Hartley, M.A.; Alain Chartier's *Quadrilogue*, edited from the unique MS. Univ. Coll. Oxford No. 85, by Prof. J. W. H. Atkins. Canon Wordsworth of Marlborough has given the Society a copy of the Leofric Canonical Rule, Latin and Anglo-Saxon, Parker MS. 191, C. C. C. Cambridge, and Prof. Napier will edit it, with a fragment of the englisht Capitula of Bp. Theodulf: it is now at press.

The Extra-Series Texts for 1906 are to be No. XCVII, *Lydgate's Troy Book*, edited from the best MSS. by Dr. Hy. Bergen, Part I; No. XCVIII, *Skelton's Magnificence*, edited by Dr. R. L. Ramsay, with a special Introduction; No. XCIX, *The Romance of Emaré*, re-edited by Miss Edith Rickert, Ph.D. The first and second have been issued.

The Extra-Series Texts for 1907 will be No. C. *The Harrowing of Hell*, three parallel Texts, with *The Gospel of Nicodemus*, four parallel Texts, re-edited by Prof. Hulme; No. CI. *Ballads and Carols* from Richard Hill's Balliol MS., edited by Dr. R. Dyboski.

Further Extra-Series Texts for 1908, &c., will be *Lydgate's Troy Book*, Parts II and III, ed. by Dr. Hy. Bergen; Lydgate's *Minor Poems*, with a settlement of the Lydgate Canon, ed. by Dr. H. N. MacCracken; *The Owl and Nightingale*, two parallel Texts, edited by Mr. G. F. H. Sykes; Dr. Erbe's re-edition of *Mirk's Festial*, Part II; Dr. M. Konrath's re-edition of *William of Shoreham's Poems*, Part II; Prof. Erdmann's re-edition of Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes* (issued also by the Chaucer Society); Prof. I. Gollancz's re-edition of two Alliterative Poems, *Winner and Waster*, &c., ab. 1360; Dr. Norman Moore's re-edition of *The Book of the Foundation of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, London*, from the unique MS. ab. 1425, which gives an account of the Founder, Rahere, and the miraculous cures wrought at the Hospital; *The Craft of Nombrynge*, with other of the earliest englisht Treatises on Arithmetic, edited by R. Steele, B.A.; and Miss Warren's two-text edition of *The Dance of Death* from the Ellesmere and other MSS.

These Extra-Series Texts ought to be completed by their Editors: the Second Part of the prose Romance of *Melusine*—Introduction, with ten facsimiles of the best woodblocks of the old foreign black-letter editions, Glossary, &c., by A. K. Donald, B.A. (now in India); and a new edition of the famous Early-English Dictionary (English and Latin), *Promptorium Parvulorum*, from the Winchester MS., ab. 1440 A.D.: in this, the Editor, the Rev. A. L. Mayhew, M.A., will follow and print his MS. not only in its arrangement of nouns first, and

verbs second, under every letter of the Alphabet, but also in its giving of the flexions of the words. The Society's edition will thus be the first modern one that really represents its original, a point on which Mr. Mayhew's insistence will meet with the sympathy of all our Members.

Later Texts for the Extra Series will include *The Three Kings' Sons*, Part II, the Introduction, &c., by Prof. Dr. Leon Kellner; Part II of *The Chester Plays*, re-edited from the MSS., with a full collation of the formerly missing Devonshire MS., by Mr. G. England and Dr. Matthews; Prof. Jespersen's editions of John Hart's *Orthographie* (MS. 1551 A.D.; blackletter 1569), and *Method to teach Reading*, 1570; Deguilleville's *Pilgrimage of the Sowle*, in English prose, edited by Mr. Hans Koestner. (For the three prose versions of *The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man*—two English, one French—an Editor is wanted.) Members are askt to realise the fact that the Society has now 50 years' work on its Lists,—at its present rate of production,—and that there is from 100 to 200 more years' work to come after that. The year 2000 will not see finisht all the Texts that the Society ought to print. The need of more Members and money is pressing. Offers of help from willing Editors have continually to be declined because the Society has no funds to print their Texts.

An urgent appeal is hereby made to Members to increase the list of Subscribers to the E. E. Text Society. It is nothing less than a scandal that the Hellenic Society should have over 1000 members, while the Early English Text Society has not 300!

Before his death in 1895, Mr. G. N. Currie was preparing an edition of the 15th and 16th century Prose Versions of Guillaume de Deguilleville's *Pilgrimage of the Life of Man*, with the French prose version by Jean Gallopes, from Lord Aldenham's MS., he having generously promist to pay the extra cost of printing the French text, and engraving one or two of the illuminations in his MS. But Mr. Currie, when on his deathbed, charged a friend to burn *all* his MSS. which lay in a corner of his room, and unluckily all the E. E. T. S.'s copies of the Deguilleville prose versions were with them, and were burnt with them, so that the Society will be put to the cost of fresh copies, Mr. Currie having died in debt.

Guillaume de Deguilleville, monk of the Cistercian abbey of Chaalis, in the diocese of Senlis, wrote his first verse *Pèlerinaige de l'Homme* in 1330-1 when he was 36.[1] Twenty-five (or six) years after, in 1355, he revised his poem, and issued a second version of it,[2] a revision of which was printed ab. 1500. Of the prose representative of the first version, 1330-1, a prose Englishing, about 1430 A.D., was edited by Mr. Aldis Wright for the Roxburghe Club in 1869, from MS. Ff. 5. 30 in the Cambridge University Library. Other copies of this prose English are in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow, Q. 2. 25; Sion College, London; and the Laud Collection in the Bodleian, no. 740.[3] A copy in the Northern dialect is MS. G. 21, in St. John's Coll., Cambridge, and this is the MS. which will be edited for the E. E. Text Society. The Laud MS. 740 was somewhat condenst and modernised, in the 17th century, into MS. Ff. 6. 30, in the Cambridge University Library:[4] "The Pilgrime or the Pilgrimage of Man in this World," copied by Will. Baspoole, whose copy "was verbatim written by Walter Parker, 1645, and from thence transcribed by G. G. 1649; and from thence by W. A. 1655." This last copy may have been read by, or its story reported to, Bunyan, and may have been the groundwork of his *Pilgrim's Progress*. It will be edited for the E. E. T. Soc., its text running under the earlier English, as in Mr. Herrtage's edition of the *Gesta Romanorum* for the Society. In February 1464,[5] Jean Gallopes—a clerk of Angers, afterwards chaplain to John, Duke of Bedford, Regent of France—turned Deguilleville's first verse *Pèlerinaige* into a prose *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine*.[6] By the kindness of Lord Aldenham, as above mentiond, Gallopes's French text will be printed opposite the early prose northern Englishing in the Society's edition.

The Second Version of Deguilleville's *Pèlerinaige de l'Homme*, A.D. 1355 or -6, was englisht in verse by Lydgate in 1426, and, thanks to the diligence of the old Elizabethan tailor and manuscript-lover, John Stowe, a complete text of Lydgate's poem has been edited for the Society by Dr. Furnivall. The British Museum French MSS. (Harleian 4399,[7] and Additional 22,937[8] and 25,594[9]) are all of the First Version.

Besides his first *Pèlerinaige de l'homme* in its two versions, Deguilleville wrote a second, "de l'ame separee du corps," and a third, "de nostre seigneur Iesus." Of the second, a prose Englishing of 1413, *The Pilgrimage of the Sowle* (with poems by Hoccleve, already printed for the Society with that author's *Regement of Princes*), exists in the Egerton MS. 615,[10] at

[1] He was born about 1295. See Abbé GOUJET's *Bibliothèque française*, Vol. IX, p. 73-4.—P. M. The Roxburghe Club printed the 1st version in 1893.

[2] The Roxburghe Club's copy of this 2nd version was lent to Mr. Currie, and unluckily burnt too with his other MSS.

[3] These 3 MSS. have not yet been collated, but are believed to be all of the same version.

[6] These were printed in France, late in the 15th or early in the 16th century.

[4] Another MS. is in the Pepys Library. [5] According to Lord Aldenham's MS.

[7] 15th cent., containing only the *Vie humaine*.

[8] 15th cent., containing all the 3 Pilgrimages, the 3rd being Jesus Christ's.

[9] 14th cent., containing the *Vie humaine* and the 2nd Pilgrimage, *de l'Ame*: both incomplete.

[10] Ab. 1430, 106 leaves (leaf 1 of text wanting), with illuminations of nice little devils—red, green, tawny, &c.—and damnd souls, fires, angels, &c.

Hatfield, Cambridge (Univ. Kk. 1. 7, and Caius), Oxford (Univ. Coll. and Corpus), and in Caxton's edition of 1483. This version has 'somewhat of addicions' as Caxton says, and some shortenings too, as the maker of both, the first translater, tells us in the MSS. Caxton leaves out the earlier englisher's interesting Epilog in the Egerton MS. This prose englishing of the *Sowle* has been copied and will be edited for the Society by Mr. Hans Koestner. Of the Pilgrimage of Jesus, no englishing is known.

As to the MS. Anglo-Saxon Psalters, Dr. Hy. Sweet has edited the oldest MS., the Vespasian, in his *Oldest English Texts* for the Society, and Mr. Harsley has edited the latest, c. 1150, Eadwine's Canterbury Psalter. The other MSS., except the Paris one, being interlinear versions,—some of the Roman-Latin redaction, and some of the Gallican,—Prof. Logeman has prepared for press a Parallel-Text edition of the first twelve Psalms, to start the complete work. He will do his best to get the Paris Psalter—tho' it is not an interlinear one—into this collective edition; but the additional matter, especially in the Verse-Psalms, is very difficult to manage. If the Paris text cannot be parallelised, it will form a separate volume. The Early English Psalters are all independent versions, and will follow separately in due course.

Through the good offices of the Examiners, some of the books for the Early-English Examinations of the University of London will be chosen from the Society's publications, the Committee having undertaken to supply such books to students at a large reduction in price. The net profits from these sales will be applied to the Society's Reprints.

Members are reminded that *fresh Subscribers are always wanted*, and that the Committee can at any time, on short notice, send to press an additional Thousand Pounds' worth of work.

The Subscribers to the Original Series must be prepared for the issue of the whole of the Early English *Lives of Saints*, sooner or later. The Society cannot leave out any of them, even though some are dull. The Sinners would doubtless be much more interesting. But in many Saints' Lives will be found valuable incidental details of our forefathers' social state, and all are worthful for the history of our language. The Lives may be lookt on as the religious romances or story-books of their period.

The Standard Collection of Saints' Lives in the Corpus and Ashmole MSS., the Harleian MS. 2277, &c. will repeat the Laud set, our No. 87, with additions, and in right order. (The foundation MS. (Laud 108) had to be printed first, to prevent quite unwieldy collations.) The Supplementary Lives from the Vernon and other MSS. will form one or two separate volumes.

Besides the Saints' Lives, Trevisa's englishing of *Bartholomæus de Proprietatibus Rerum*, the mediæval Cyclopædia of Science, &c., will be the Society's next big undertaking. An Editor for it is wanted. Prof. Napier of Oxford, wishing to have the whole of our MS. Anglo-Saxon in type, and accessible to students, will edit for the Society all the unprinted and other Anglo-Saxon Homilies which are not included in Thorpe's edition of Ælfric's prose,[1] Dr. Morris's of the Blickling Homilies, and Prof. Skeat's of Ælfric's Metrical Homilies. The late Prof. Kölbing left complete his text, for the Society, of the *Ancren Riwle*, from the best MS., with collations of the other four, and this will be edited for the Society by Dr. Thümmler. Mr. Harvey means to prepare an edition of the three MSS. of the *Earliest English Metrical Psalter*, one of which was edited by the late Mr. Stevenson for the Surtees Society.

Members of the Society will learn with pleasure that its example has been followed, not only by the Old French Text Society which has done such admirable work under its founders Profs. Paul Meyer and Gaston Paris, but also by the Early Russian Text Society, which was set on foot in 1877, and has since issued many excellent editions of old MS. Chronicles, &c.

Members will also note with pleasure the annexation of large tracts of our Early English territory by the important German contingent, the late Professors Zupitza and Kölbing, the living Hausknecht, Einenkel, Haenisch, Kaluza, Hupe, Adam, Holthausen, Schick, Herzfeld, Brandeis, Sieper, Konrath, Wülfing, &c. Scandinavia has also sent us Prof. Erdmann and Dr. E. A. Kock; Holland, Prof. H. Logeman, who is now working in Belgium; France, Prof. Paul Meyer—with Gaston Paris as adviser (alas, now dead);—Italy, Prof. Lattanzi; Austria, Dr. von Fleischhacker; while America is represented by the late Prof. Child, by Dr. Mary Noyes Colvin, Miss Rickert, Profs. Mead, McKnight, Triggs, Perrin, Craig, &c. The sympathy, the ready help, which the Society's work has cald forth from the Continent and the United States, have been among the pleasantest experiences of the Society's life, a real aid and cheer amid all troubles and discouragements. All our Members are grateful for it, and recognise that the bond their work has woven between them and the lovers of language and antiquity across the seas is one of the most welcome results of the Society's efforts.

[1] Of these, Mr. Harsley is preparing a new edition, with collations of all the MSS. Many copies of Thorpe's book, not issued by the Ælfric Society, are still in stock.
Of the Vercelli Homilies, the Society has bought the copy made by Prof. G. Lattanzi.

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Magnyfycence.

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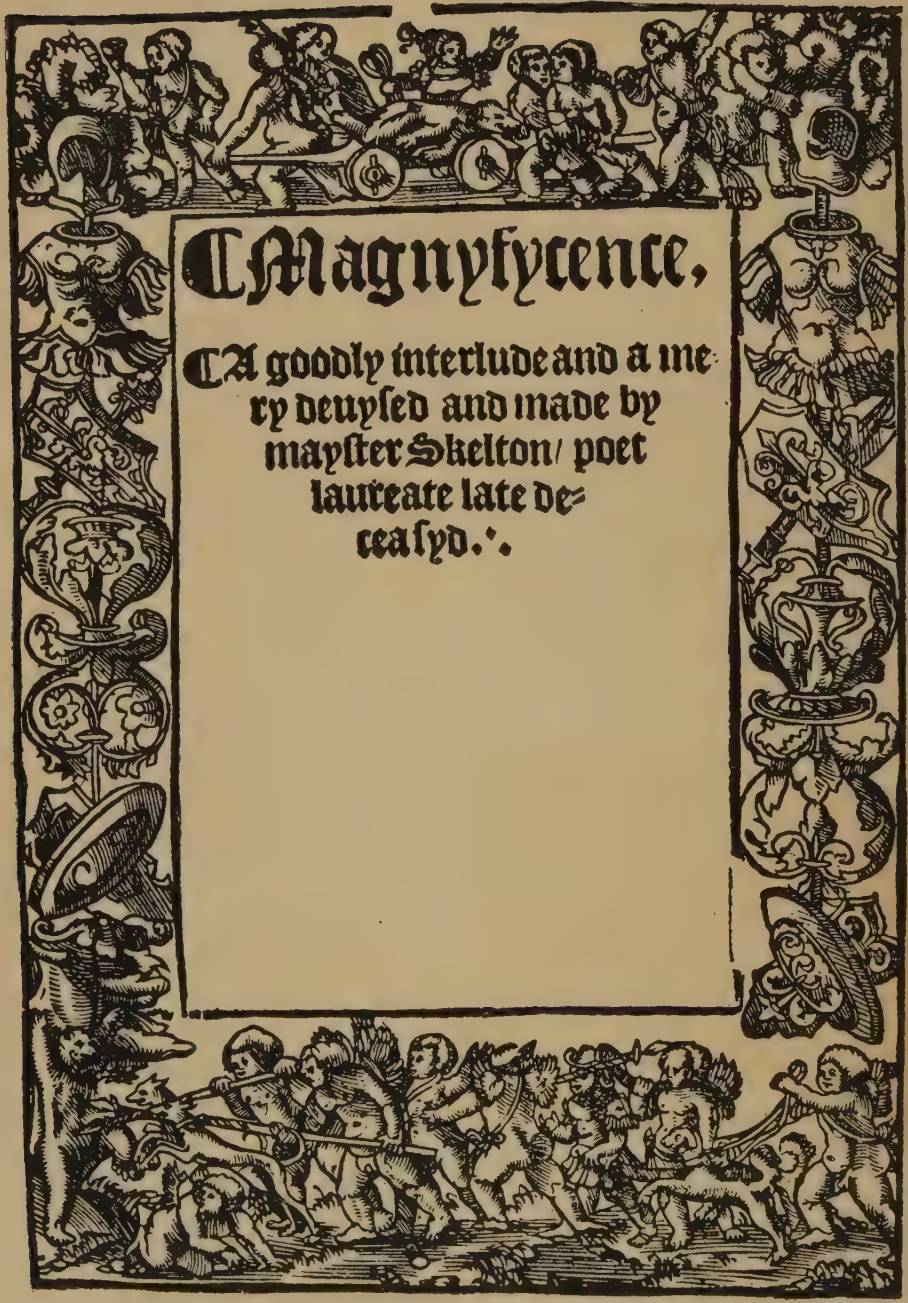

¶Magnyfycence,

¶A goodly interlude and a mery deuysed and made by mayster Skelton/ poet laureate late deceasyd.'.

Magnyfycence

A MORAL PLAY

BY

JOHN SKELTON.

EDITED BY

ROBERT LEE RAMSAY, PH.D.,

ASSISTANT IN ENGLISH IN THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY,

FROM THE EDITION IN UNIV. LIBRARY, CAMBRIDGE,

WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND GLOSSARY.

LONDON:

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Dedicated

To My Mother.

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INTRODUCTION.

SKELTON'S *Magnificence* has been accessible to students of the drama longer than almost any play of its class; but this advantage, due to the reputation of its author, has proved of doubtful value. While the other moral plays have one by one been brought to light and studied, *Magnificence* has been left almost entirely to one side. The undeniable intrinsic dulness and monotony of the play affords much to justify this neglect. Although in bulk the most considerable production of a famous if unjustly neglected poet, it is less interesting than most of his other poems to a cursory reader. It also falls short in many respects when compared with other specimens in its own department. Beside the universality and transparency of the plot of the *Castle of Perseverance*, its allegorical framework seems narrow and forced. The peculiar achievement of the morality was perhaps the sincerity and real dignity with which it could present some of the Church's most solemn lessons. In one scene, which has been selected as a favorable specimen, *Magnificence* gives a picture of the coming of Adversity that does attain some measure of this high seriousness. But it nowhere reaches the impressive level kept throughout in *Everyman*. On the other hand, its contrasted scenes of vice and low life have little of the racy realism and less of the humor so notably present in *Mankind* and *Hickscorner*. To the Tudor audience doubtless the chief interest lay in its political satire; but this is obscure and dull beside that of the Scottish political morality, Lyndsay's *Three Estates*. The play's one point of incontestable superiority, the dramatic construction of its plot, is well hidden under tedious monologues and unduly protracted discussions. One is not surprised at the depreciative account given in general treatises on the moralities and in the single brief study devoted wholly to it (Heinrich Krumpholtz, *John Skelton und sein Morality Play Magnificence;* Programm, Prossnitz, 1881: 6 pages) or even at the dictum of an eighteenth century critic (quoted by Dyce, intro. I. 1) who pronounced it "the dullest play ever written."

But a different point of view with regard to the moralities has recently been made practicable, and by this change none of them will

gain more than *Magnificence*. With the E. E. T. S. edition of the Macro Plays (1904), the task of publishing all the known earlier moralities is complete, and an opportunity is afforded to study this central period in the history of the drama as a whole. One effect, indeed, of such comparison is to invalidate the claim that was put forward in behalf of *Magnificence* by Skelton's latest biographer (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*): it will hardly continue to "rank with Sir David Lyndsay's *Satire of the Three Estates* as one of the two most typical morality plays in existence"; for an examination of the earlier moralities, particularly of the *Castle of Perseverance*, will show how far both the plays mentioned have departed from the original type. But wider study, if it discredits some premature pretensions, will bring with it an increased appreciation of the true significance of Skelton's contribution to the English drama.

The undeniable right of *Magnificence* to an important place in the history of the drama rests not on its intrinsic merit but on its peculiar position. It belongs to that essentially intermediate form of the drama known as the morality; the form which dominated the period of transition from the medieval religious to the modern secular drama, or as Creizenach puts it, was the bridge from the miracle play to the comedy. Within this central period *Magnificence* occupies a central position. It has already been pointed out that English moralities fall naturally into two divisions, an earlier and a later group. Mr. Pollard has suggested the use of the terms "moral play" and "interlude" for this distinction. The rule will be adhered to in this study, although it of course has no basis in contemporary usage. The moral plays (mostly earlier in date than *Magnificence*) were still purely religious in aim, restricted to a narrow range of plots and characters, peopled with abstractions rather than types, and but little removed from the technique of the miracle in presentation, length, and versification. Such at least is the type adhered to in the main. The later interludes became more and more secularized, freer, shorter, and less abstract; they introduced comic elements; and they absorbed many of the characteristics of the new, largely foreign technique. Though never quite merging with the modern types of drama which partly sprang from them, partly grew up around them, they kept their place on the stage throughout the Elizabethan period. *Magnificence* shares the characteristics of the two groups between which it falls. Far from being a typical moral play, it is precisely its departures from the traditional norm that constitute its real claim to attention.

The key to most of its departures is to be obtained only by a consideration of the character and aims of its author. The starting-point in

the study of *Magnificence*, now as always, is the study of the dramatist who wrote it. Skelton was the first English man of letters to become a dramatist. For many as are the restrictions to be made in estimating his literary talent, he cannot be denied the name of man of letters. Most of his contemporaries regarded him, and with almost pathetic conviction he regarded himself, as the legitimate successor of those "auncient poetys" whom he enumerated at such length in his *Garland of Laurel*. He allows passage through the gate inscribed with the capital A for Anglia only to Gower, Chaucer, Lydgate, and himself. Yet he had ventured on a step for which he could find no sanction in these models when he took up the despised popular form of the drama. Chaucer, with the most dramatic genius in English literature before Elizabeth's reign, never thought of the drama as a possible literary form. It is less to be wondered at that neither Gower, Lydgate, nor Occleve was attracted by the drama; but when Hawes took up the Chaucerian mantle in the reign of Henry VII, and when Barclay began to write in competition with Skelton himself, plays, both miracles and moralities, had been written for more than a century. Skelton was the first professed poet to try his hand at writing a morality.

He is, indeed, the first personality of any sort whom we encounter in the annals of the stage, with the exception of Henry Medwall, author of *Nature*. Medwall was not a man of letters. He acquired no literary fame apart from his dramatic efforts, and only the accident of his position secured the survival of his name. A chaplain of Archbishop Morton's, he belonged to the class by whom moralities had always been written. The composition of interludes was probably a part of his duties, as it was for the almoner of the Earl of Northumberland. Skelton too had taken orders, but his dramatic venture, though perhaps connected with this fact, cannot be wholly thus explained; for so had Barclay, and so had Lydgate and Occleve in the preceding century. Skelton's priesthood at all times sat lightly on him. His talent was essentially undramatic. His experiment in the new field was both a proof of his audacity and a sign of the times. The drama was at last ready to take its place as a literary form. Skelton was closely followed by Heywood and Lyndsay, Bale and Udall, and a host of others, all professional penmen.

Not only do we have in *Magnificence* our first example of a professional literary man attempting a play, but also our first example of a moral play written with a secular and literary instead of a theological aim. The morality had hitherto been what the miracle always remained, strictly theological in purpose. Essentially it had always continued a

sort of religious service. To make a distinction, it had been laicized but never secularized. Both processes were necessary before the drama could take its place as a form of literature.

It is hardly likely that even Skelton himself took so radical a step abruptly. Besides *Magnificence*, we know of at least two other plays written by him but not preserved. He mentions in his *Garland of Laurel* the "souerayne enterlude of Vertu" (l. 1177), and the "commedy called Achademios" (l. 1184). We cannot affirm anything from the mysterious second title, but the first suggests a conventional handling of the stock theme. *Magnificence*, however, has certainly made the transition, and it has good claims to priority in doing so. It precedes the interludes of Heywood, which show the secularization completed. Whether it precedes the *Four Elements* is not so certain. But although the *Four Elements* was also secular in purpose, it merely substituted scientific for religious instruction, and so remained equally outside the bounds of literature. The didactic path which it opened was a false trail, whereas *Magnificence* was in the main highway of dramatic development.

The literary purpose that prompted *Magnificence* and animated almost all of Skelton's work was none of the purest, although distinctly a literary purpose. It was the expression of personal satire. Almost the first in our language to cultivate this department, Skelton had to make his own tools and discover by experiment the aptest form. Although acquainted with (*Against Garnesche*, Dyce, I. 130)

> "The famous poettes saturicall,
> As Percius and Iuuynall,
> Horace and noble Marciall,"

he was unfortunately not enough of a humanist to follow the classical models used by Pope in much the same task at a later date. It is interesting to watch Skelton's attempts to fit his grievances into several of the old *cadres* before manufacturing a new one. His early *Bowge of Court* is an experiment with the old courtly allegory. He twists the form inherited from the *Romaunt of the Rose*, the *House of Fame*, and the *Legend of Good Women*, into a satire on court life. Herford has shown how intimately he combined with the old framework new motives, more to his purpose, drawn from the German satirist Sebastian Brant and his epoch-making *Ship of Fools*. *Magnificence* is a precisely similar experiment with the other allegorical form, the morality. It was if anything less congenial to the new employment, and Skelton again drew no little inspiration from the *Ship of Fools*. By this time (1516) his point

of attack had become more definite, and his allusions betray more of the bitterness of personal hatred. His best satire, *Colin Clout* (1518–21), came still later. In this he had at last learned to be direct. He had shaken off all allegorical fetters, and retained but one mark of conscious art, the clever device of the mouthpiece Colin Clout, a typical figure afterwards borrowed by Spenser. In his latest satires, *Why Come Ye Not to Court?* (1522–3) and the *Doughty Duke of Albany* (1523–4), even this device is discarded, and we have simply vigorous unadulterated abuse.

Magnificence was thus for Skelton merely one of a series of experiments, the primary object of which was far from being the cultivation of the dramatic form for its own sake. The transformation of the moral play into a secular allegorical drama embodying political satire was for him an incident in a more comprehensive attempt. For us it constitutes the main object of interest, and we shall study the play in its relations to the models that preceded it rather than in its relations to Skelton's other satires.

The transformation cannot be regarded as very successful. It was a first attempt, and naturally kept too much of its originals. The main outlines of the traditional morality plot were all too carefully followed. Skelton's text is no longer the affirmation that the wages of sin is death, but instead that the wages of imprudent spending on certain unnamed evil advisers will be for a certain unnamed rich prince adversity and poverty. But the new wine is presented in the old bottles. Heywood wisely discarded the old morality plot altogether. But in *Magnificence* we still have the contest; the customary central figure around whom the contest is waged; on one side a group of figures still called vices, but really types of bad courtiers or abstractions of evil political tendencies; on the other, good counsellors, whom we easily recognize as personifications of Skelton's own political party. At the point where earlier plays might have represented the entrance of Death, the allegorical figures of Adversity and Poverty appear; and after his conversion to wiser views of economy, the prince is restored to his palace instead of being carried to heaven. Naturally much of the old material proved refractory to this metamorphosis, and we shall see that it is responsible for many incongruities.

A notable short-coming in *Magnificence* is the character-drawing. To make the satire effective the characters ought to have been personal portraits, or at least types of the different factions or classes. The first method was not attempted; perhaps it was too early for such a device to be conceived. The second was realized only partially. There is a

perceptible tendency to change the abstract vices and virtues which had reigned hitherto into types of the good and bad counsellors of the prince; but they remain half allegorical still, and the other personages are all pure shadows. Lyndsay in the *Three Estates* succeeded better in accomplishing much the same design.

Magnificence is valuable, however, for literary study precisely on account of these evidences of transition. Perhaps no other play so truly represents the half-way point between the old and the new. On almost every side—plot and cast, character-drawing, treatment of the "vice," even the handling of the metre—it exhibits, like its author, a curious blending of originality and conservatism. Skelton was a priest, with enough in his works to establish his sincere religious feeling and his orthodox theological views; yet he was guilty of many irregularities, "as most poets are," and the poet in him, and at times the reformer, was evidently stronger than the priest. He was one of the learned men of the time, but his learning was of the preceding generation; in his *Speak Parrot* he attacks the New Learning, and he cannot be classed, as has sometimes been done, among the Humanists. *Magnificence* is quite as much of a combination. From our point of view, its defects are as interesting as its merits. It affords what is perhaps the most convenient point from which to survey the progress of the moral play in the past and to forecast the development of the interlude in the future.

Among the plays which it seems best on the whole to class as moral plays rather than as interludes, some almost as much as *Magnificence* contain features characteristic of the latter type. On the whole, however, the year 1520, which Mr. Gayley[1] has fixed as the limit of the period of "older morals and moral interludes," forms the most convenient chronological boundary line. It is understood as excluding the interludes of Heywood, which show the new type as an accomplished fact. It includes a sufficiently homogeneous group: the ten extant moral plays and the three mixed miracle-moralities, which belong in chronological order approximately as follows: *Pride of Life*[2] (about 1410); the two Coventry plays,[3] nos. xi. and xix., the *Salutation and Conception*, and the *Slaughter of the Innocents* (1400–1425); *Castle of Perseverance*[4] (1400–1440);

[1] C. M. Gayley, *Representative English Comedies*. New York, 1903. Intro., p. lvii.

[2] Cited in the edition of A. Brandl, *Quellen des weltlichen Dramas in England vor Shakespeare*. Quellen und Forschungen, vol. LXXX. Strassburg, 1898.

[3] J. O. Halliwell, *Ludus Coventriae*. Printed for the Shakespeare Society, London, 1841.

[4] F. J. Furnivall and A. W. Pollard, *The Macro Plays*. E. E. T. S., Extra Series, XCI. London, 1904. I desire to express my thanks for the courtesy of Dr. Furnivall.

Wisdom[1] (before 1483); *Mankind*[1] (before 1483); *Mary Magdalene*[2] (1470–1490); *Nature*[3] (1486–1500); *Everyman*[4] (1495–1530); *Hick-scorner*[5] (1509–1512); *Mundus et Infans*[5] (1500–1522); *Magnificence* (about 1516); *Four Elements*[6] (1515–1520).

The present study naturally falls into two parts. In the first, *Magnificence* is studied and analyzed, as far as possible, in itself. So little attention has been so far paid to the play, or indeed to any of Skelton's works, that a considerable field remained open for the examination of the more obvious problems. The editions have been described and an effort made to fix the date within narrower limits. The plot has been analyzed into stages, and the cast into groups, with a special study of the nomenclature and origin of the different characters. Various questions connected with the *mise en scène* have been studied, and the different verse-forms, and the use made of them, have been examined. Finally the external relations which *Magnificence* bears, whether to sources other than the morality plays themselves, or as a satire to historical persons and events, and to Skelton's other satires, have been discussed. Only the purely literary characteristics have been studied; a study of the language of *Magnificence* would afford material for another treatise, and could not be adequately performed without including all of Skelton's works.

The second part deals with the relations between *Magnificence* as a moral play and its predecessors, and studies the leading changes which took place in the dramatic period illustrated by the thirteen moral plays cited above, changes of which in many cases, though not in all, *Magnificence* presents a culmination. Where necessary for adequate generalization, the comparison is extended into the later period of interludes. Here the arrangement followed in the first part has necessarily been altered. First in order of time, and largely responsible for all the other changes, come the external developments: the change in the stage, from the great out-of-door enclosure, after the manner of certain miracle-cycles, to the closed and comparatively small hall; the change in the actors, from an unlimited number of amateur performers to a small fixed troupe

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who kindly supplied me with proof-sheets of his edition of the *Castle of Perseverance* in advance of its appearance.

[1] See note 4, previous page.

[2] F. J. Furnivall, *The Digby Plays*, E. E. T. S., Extra Series, LXX. London, 1896.

[3] See note 2, previous page.

[4] W. W. Greg, *Everyman, reprinted from the edition by John Skot preserved at Britwell Court.* Materialien zur Kunde des älteren englischen Dramas, Band IV. London, 1904.

[5] J. M. Manly, *Specimens of the Pre-Shaksperean Drama.* Boston, 1903.

[6] J. Fischer, *Das "Interlude of the Four Elements," mit einer Einleitung neu herausgegeben.* Marburger Studien, Heft 5. Marburg, 1903.

of professionals; and accompanying these, the continuous shortening in the length of the plays. Another change in external form was that in versification—the progress from the popular rime-schemes of the miracles to the learned Chaucerian stanzas and the serviceable couplet, and the development of a new and rather subtle technique in applying metrical distinctions to the characterization of differing scenes and personages. The logical dependence on all this of the internal changes in plot, cast, and characterization is clear enough. Beginning with several distinct and rigidly fixed plots competing for preference, the morality adopted one of them as its typical form, and at the same time developed this plot till all its dramatic capabilities had been utilized. Beginning with a cast quite as rigid as its plot, it attained freedom of treatment much sooner, especially with the vice-figures, concentrated upon these the growing humor of the drama, and developed one of them, as the official fun-maker, into the stock figure known later as the "Vice." Finally, in the matter of characterization, the morality advanced from drawing pure abstractions to pure types, passing through all degrees of mixture on the way; and, since the characters of comedy are essentially types rather than individuals, thus more than in any other way revealed its kinship with comedy.

PART 1.

I. Editions.

1. *Magnyfycence,* | *A goodly interlude and a me-* | *ry deuysed and made by* | *mayster Skelton poet* | *laureate late de-* | *ceasyd.* No imprint and no date; small folio; black letter.

The edition is in "fours" (A—G^4, H^2); pp. 59 + [1]; numbered by folios, Fo. ii—Fo. xxx. Contents: p. 1, title, within an ornamental border; pp. 2–59, play, ending on p. 59 with list of the names of the players, and colophon "Cum priuilegio"; p. 60 blank. There are forty-five to forty-seven lines on a full page. The numbering of the folios is occasionally incorrect: in place of "Fo. iij" stands "Fo. xxix"; "Fo. xxi" is repeated in place of "Fo. xxiiij," and again for "Fo. xxvi." There are no signature-titles, running-titles, or catchwords. There are no woodcuts; the border on the title-page is of "Renaissance" design, such as was introduced into England by Pynson about 1518 (see A. W. Pollard, *Early Illustrated Books*, 1893, p. 239). The watermark of the paper is a gauntlet and star.

Of this original edition we know of the existence of one perfect copy in the University Library at Cambridge, one imperfect copy,

wanting the first leaf, in the British Museum, and a fragment of a third copy in the Bodleian Library.

The Cambridge copy (AB. 8. 46[4]) belongs to the collection of Bishop Moore received in 1715 (Dibdin-Ames, III. 106; C. K. Hartshorne's *Book Rarities at Cambridge*, 1829, pp. 18–24, 167). The British Museum copy (C. 34. m. 1) has replaced the missing first leaf, which contained the title on its recto and the first forty-five lines on its verso, by a manuscript transcript, taken, according to a note at the bottom, "From a perfect Copy in the University Lib. Cambridge." The transcript, however, differs from the spelling of the Cambridge copy in a few instances, pointed out in the notes, and follows modern usage in the employment of u and v. On the second leaf, the first remaining of the original, there is an interesting MS. note in the upper right-hand corner: "MAGNIFICENCE. A goodly Interlude and a mery, devysed and made by Mayster Skelton, poete laureate, late deceasyd. Printed by John Rastell. G. Steevens. This John Rastell died in 1536." The copy is known to have formed a part of David Garrick's celebrated collection of plays, bequeathed to the British Museum (see Warton's *History of English Poetry*, octavo ed., 1824, III. 188; Dibdin-Ames, III. 106; and also p. 55 of the *MS. Catalogue of Plays in the Collection of David Garrick, Esq.* (British Museum, Bks. 2. h. 2), compiled, according to the Museum catalogue, by E. Capell probably in 1778). A previous owner is perhaps indicated in the "nat" or "Nathanael wilkinson" whose name, in a different hand from that of Steevens's note, is twice scribbled on the margin. The fragment in the Bodleian (*Douce fragm.* d. 7) consists of but two leaves, G ii and G iii (numbered "Fo. xxi" for "xxvi"; and "Fo. xxvii," pp. 51–54), and contains lines 2198–2364. On the first leaf, recto, is written at the bottom: "Fragment of *Skelton's* 'Magnyfycence, a goodly Interlude and a mery.' No date. Mr. *Garrick* had an imperfect Copy, which Mr. *Warton* supposed an *Unique*."

The three exemplars are manifestly of the same edition. But the Cambridge and British Museum copies, though identical in every other respect, differ in three unimportant readings. These are probably alterations made while the edition was passing through the press. In the first instance, the British Museum is evidently the later, giving (l. 633) the speaker's name as "Crafty conuey" instead of the misprint, "Crafty onucey," of the Cambridge. The other two instances, however, do not support this order: at l. 1883, where Cambridge reads "plucke," British Museum "pluke," and at l. 2014, where Cambridge reads "with curteyns

of sylke," British Museum "with courtely sylkes," the Cambridge version seems more likely to be the corrected form. This condition might have arisen if the play was printed off only part at a time. None of the points of difference happen to occur in the Bodleian fragment.

The MS. note by "G. Steevens"—doubtless the Shaksperian commentator and friend of Garrick—is probably the source of Warton's ascription (quarto ed., 1778, II. 336) of the edition to the printer John Rastell, although it lacks Rastell's name or imprint. This ascription, repeated by Ritson, Jones, and Dibdin, as well as by Mr. Robert Proctor in E. G. Duff's *Hand-List of English Printers*, and in W. W. Greg's *List of English Plays*, is supported by the appearance of the same type, though not of the same border,[1] in some of Rastell's known works. In itself it is not improbable, although the fact is noteworthy that no other edition of any of Skelton's numerous works has ever been claimed for Rastell. John Rastell's name does appear, however, in editions of *Gentleness and Nobility* and *Calisto and Melibea*, and his son William Rastell's in four of Heywood's interludes; and John Rastell's personal interest in "stage-plays and interludes," in the light of what we have learned in recent years (Pollard's *Fifteenth-Century Prose and Verse*, p. 305), is indubitable.

Warton's dictum[2] about the printer is more easily explained than his

[1] Mr. Pollard, who has very kindly looked up the matter for me, writes: "I have called in Mr. Gordon Duff and Mr. Campbell Dodgson over the question of the *Magnificence* border, and have searched every source I can think of, but can find no other use of it. It must be a copy of a German border, and has all the appearance of being from one of those made at Basel by Ambrosius Holbein, but if so the original has hidden itself as effectually as the copy. At present all I can say is that both the types used on the title-page were used also by John Rastell."

[2] In the course of his chapter on Skelton, Warton describes the play three times, and in each case differently. In the middle of his long bibliographical note at the beginning of the chapter (quarto ed., 1778, II. 336) we read: "*Magnificence, a goodly Interlude and a mery devysed and made by mayster Skelton, poet laureate, late deceased*, was printed by Rastell, in 1533. 4to. This is not in any collection of his poems." At the end of his description of the "*Nigramansir*" (p. 363) occurs the remark: "I have before mentioned Skelton's play of *Magnificence*," and (in a note), "It is in Mr. Garrick's valuable collection. No date. 4to." Finally, there is an additional passage, not found in the quarto, but inserted at this point in brackets in the octavo edition of 1824 (III. 188–190), revised by Richard Price; this passage gives a full outline of *Magnificence*, beginning: "The only copy of Skelton's moral comedy of *Magnificence* now remaining, printed by Rastal, without date in a thin folio, has been most obligingly communicated to me by Mr. Garrick, whose valuable collection of old Plays is alone a complete history of our stage. The first leaf and the title are wanting. It contains sixty folio pages in the black letter, and must have taken up a very considerable time in the representation." That this additional note is from Warton's pen, though first published after his death, and not an interpolation by his editor, is shown by internal evidence (*e. g.* "communicated to me by Mr. Garrick," "I have been prolix in describing these two dramas," i. e. *Nigramansir*, the description of which is certainly Warton's, and *Magnificence*), as well as by the consistent distinction Price makes between inserted passages marked

conflicting accounts of the date and size of the edition. These, indeed, have led Mr. Proctor, in the *Hand-Lists of English Printers*, and Mr. Chambers in the *Medieval Stage* (II. 441), to suppose that two editions were known to Warton: one a quarto dated 1533, the other the folio without date which we still possess. But even this supposition fails to reconcile all three of Warton's statements; and it is altogether more probable that we have under this head but another instance of Warton's habitual carelessness in dates and figures, and that his third and latest statement was the only one made with book in hand. His date of 1533 must accordingly be treated as a conjecture, based, doubtless, on the information of the title-page. Skelton died June 21, 1529. Since the title-page refers to him as "late deceasyd," 1533 is not far astray, although 1531 or 1530 would seem more probable dates to assign to the edition.

2. Joseph Littledale. *Magnyfycence; an Interlude. By John Skelton, Poet Laureat to Henry VIII.* London: Re-printed by G. Woodfall, Angel Court, Skinner Street, 1821. Presented to the Roxburghe Club, June 17, 1821.

The preface states that the interlude is "re-printed from a Copy in small Folio in the Library of the British Museum, with the exception of the Title, and the following Page, which, being in Manuscript, have been supplied by a Transcript made from a Copy in the Public Library at Cambridge." The edition uses black-letter type and aims to reproduce the exact orthography of the original edition; but it is far from doing so. Those departures noticed in a single careful collation have been recorded in the textual notes at the foot of the page.

3. Rev. Alexander Dyce. *The Poetical Works of John Skelton:*

"Additions" as here, and those marked "Edit.,"—a distinction neglected in later editions of the *History*.

Warton elsewhere not infrequently assigns printer and date to a book without indicating that he has not obtained his information from the title-page. Thus he says (quarto ed., II. 238) that *Nature* was printed by "Rastel" in 1538, whereas our extant edition shows neither printer's name nor date. Similar instances reveal themselves in a comparison of his list of Skeltonic editions (II. 336, note) with the bibliography of Dyce (Dyce, I. xci–ciii; note especially pp. xcv, ci).

But Warton's chapter on Skelton is open to graver suspicions even than that of inaccuracy. It has been pretty clearly shown (H. E. D. Blakiston, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XI. 282) that Warton elsewhere indulged in that favourite amusement of eighteenth-century antiquaries, the fabrication of new material to relieve the tedium of an uninteresting original or to beguile a credulous rival. The suspiciously circumstantial account of that remarkable drama the "*Nigramansir*," "plaid before the King and other estatys at Woodstoke on Palme Sunday," and printed by Wynkyn de Worde in a thin quarto, in the year 1504," the disappearance of the sole copy of which Warton is so careful to explain, bears a strong family likeness to such pastimes, although cleverer than most of them. I have accordingly omitted any consideration of this play in my study of *Magnificence*.

with Notes, and Some Account of the Author and his Writings. London, Thomas Rodd, 1843. 2 vols. The *Magnificence* is found vol. I. 225–310 (text), vol. II. 236–277 (notes).

In general a satisfactory edition of the text, with comparatively few departures from the original. A number of corrections are made, or suggested at the foot of the page; but some of the errors of the first printer are retained. The orthography is that of the original; punctuation and capitalization are modern. An admirable body of notes is appended in the second volume.

Dyce's text and notes, with a few unimportant additional notes, were reprinted at Cambridge, Massachusetts, and issued at Boston anonymously in 1855: *The Poetical Works of Skelton and Donne.* Four volumes in two. Boston, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1855.

4. A. W. Pollard. *English Miracle Plays, Moralities, and Interludes.* Oxford, Clarendon Press. First edition, 1890; fourth edition, revised, 1904. An extract from *Magnificence* (lines 1843–2047) is taken out of Dyce's edition. Pp. 106–113 (text); 207–209 (notes).

There is no indication that any earlier edition of *Magnificence* existed than the posthumous one that we possess. The long interval thus made between production and publication ill accords with the assertion of Prynne (*Histrio-Mastix,* p. 834, quoted by Chambers, II. 186) that "Skelton's Comedies, de Virtute, de Magnificentia, et de bono Ordine . . . were penned only to be read, not acted." To an Elizabethan it is not surprising that the dreary interlude seemed undesigned for the stage; but we shall see that it shows distinct marks of adaptation to the theatrical requirements of its day. Its issue from the press just after the death of its author may not be without significance. Skelton's death was followed within a few months by the fall of the great Cardinal whom the play had attacked in the very dawn of his supremacy. On October 19, 1529, Cavendish tells us, not less than a thousand boats, filled with men and women of the city of London, waited upon the Thames to see Wolsey borne to the Tower. By bringing out just at this time the play of Wolsey's old enemy, the deceased poet laureate whom Wolsey had at last silenced so recently, the printer may well have given a proof of business sagacity.

Not so much can be said for the printer's professional skill. *Magnificence* is badly printed, even for the sixteenth century. The number of obvious misprints is large, and many of them can be rectified easily. The metre shows that in a number of cases lines have been omitted altogether. Extraordinarily few stage-directions are preserved, many of

the most obvious needing to be supplied. The difference which might result from the presence or absence of an author's oversight is well shown by the contrast between the printed copies of *Magnificence* and the *Four Elements*. Whether the author of the latter play was also its printer, John Rastell, or not, it was certainly carefully prepared for the press; and it shows comparatively few misprints or omissions, full directions for performance, and an explanatory preface. In Medwall's *Nature*, on the other hand, which was written for a performance before 1500, and probably not printed till after 1530 (cf. Brandl's ed., intro. p. xxxviii), we have a parallel to *Magnificence* both in the long interval between production and publication and in the number of errors.

II. Date.

The passage in *Magnificence* which fixes an earlier limit for its date was first noticed by Ritson (see Dyce's note, II. 236). It is the reference to King Louis of France in ll. 279–282:

> "Fan. Largesse is he that all prynces doth auaunce;
> I reporte me herein to Kynge Lewes of Fraunce.
> Fel. Why haue ye hym named, and all other refused?
> Fan. For, syth he dyed, Largesse was lytell vsed."

Skelton, who was born not much earlier than 1460, was contemporary with the following kings of France: Louis XI (1461–1483), Charles VIII (1483–1498), Louis XII (1498–1515), Francis I (1515–1547). It is certainly Louis XII to whom Skelton refers in the above lines. At the death of Louis XI, he was hardly more than twenty-three, and had not yet written the earliest of his dated poems, the elegy on the death of Edward IV. *Magnificence* gives evidence of long experience in Court, and shows Skelton's mature style, which is curiously unlike that of his youthful poems. Louis XI was distinguished for anything but liberality, and the passage could refer to him only in a spirit of bitter satire which it does not seem intended to convey.

Dyce has also noted a reference that fixes a later limit for the play, in the long list of his productions that Skelton inserts into his *Garland of Laurel*. In ll. 1192–1197 (see Dyce, II. 318) he gives the following item:

> "And of Magnyfycence a notable mater:
> How Cownterfet Cowntenaunce of the new get
> With Crafty Conueyaunce dothe smater and flater,
> And Cloked Collucyoun is brought in to clater
> With Courtely Abusyoun; who pryntith it wele in mynde,
> Moche dowblenes of the worlde therein he may fynde.

The minuteness with which Skelton describes the play in this list of his works would seem to indicate that it was comparatively recent, and hence fresh in his mind. Unfortunately, we are unable to fix exactly the date of the *Garland of Laurel* itself, but we know that it was written before 1523, for the edition of Richard Faukes bears the date October 3, 1523 (Dyce, I. xxxix, xciii, 361). Dyce is inclined to date it "about 1520, or a little later" (Dyce, II. 318).

The certain limits for the date of *Magnificence* are thus 1515 to 1523, probably 1515–1520.[1] It remains to see if a closer examination of the historical environment of the play will not enable us to narrow the margin.

In the light of the estimate of their characters which history has bequeathed to us, the contrast which Skelton draws in the passage cited between the practice of "largesse" by Louis XII and his successor, Francis I, is surprising. The elderly Louis, the "father of his people," was an amiable and by no means ungenerous monarch, but it is perhaps to his credit that he left no reputation for especial freedom in distributing his wealth. The statement, however, that "syth he dyed, largesse was lytell vsed," is distinctly at variance with the tradition that has made the name of Francis a synonym for splendid profligacy. His recklessness in scattering among the crowd of his favorites the sums wrung from his people by grinding taxation exceeded even that of his contemporary Henry VIII; and it would seem that his court should have furnished a chosen paradise for Fancy and his crew, instead of proving inhospitable. After 1520, at least, the monarch whose magnificence dazzled the eyes of Europe at the Field of the Cloth of Gold could not be accused even by his worst enemies of over-scrupulous adherence to the virtues of measure and circumspection in his expenditure.

In *Magnificence*, however, we are certainly looking at the first five years of Francis's reign, and, moreover, through hostile English eyes. From the materials that exist it is possible to reconstruct the English point of view during these earlier years, and from this point of view Skelton's judgment of the two French monarchs is much more explicable.[2]

[1] The *N. E. D.* (under *cue, fancy*, and other words) gives the date 1526. This is certainly too late.

[2] The sources for the earlier years of Henry's reign are unusually abundant. Among those used for this section and section IX may be mentioned: 1. Contemporary—J. S. Brewer, *Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII*, 4 vols. (London, 1862); R. Brown, *State Papers relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice* (London, 1867), and a selection from the above of despatches by the Venetian ambassador, Sebastian Giustinian, Jan. 12, 1515, to July 26, 1519, entitled *Four Years at the Court of Henry VIII*, 2 vols. (London, 1854); Hall's *The*

King Louis's reputation in England for generosity is easily accounted for by the events that marked the last year of his reign. Wolsey had brought the campaign of 1513, only partially successful on its military side, to a brilliant conclusion by the alliance which he effected between England and France in 1514, and ratified by the marriage of Henry's sister Mary to the aged French king in October of the same year. The royal espousals were the occasion for the first of the splendid fêtes that light up the annals of Henry's reign. Hall gives a long and minute account of the elaborate festivities that were held on both sides of the Channel, but naturally with greater display in France. Brewer sums it up as follows: "The marriage dazzled the eyes of Europe. France was in one continual dream of delight. English ambassadors swarmed about the French court, which they had never visited before, to congratulate the bride and bridegroom, to feast their eyes on the pageants or take part in the tournaments." Among these English ambassadors a prominent figure was Sir Christopher Garnesche (see Hall, quoted in Dyce, I. xxxi), who was Skelton's opponent in the poetical contest undertaken "by the kynges most noble commaundement," of which we have Skelton's side preserved in the four poems *Against Garnesche* (Dyce, I. 116); and it is quite likely that Skelton was himself a witness and perhaps a partaker in the French king's "largesse." At any rate, he may well have been impressed, in common with his countrymen, at the lavishness of French friendship, to which they had so long been strangers. Louis's generosity seems to have been extraordinary, especially in his gifts of diamonds and jewelry to his English wife (see Brewer, I. 84). The festivities were still going on when he died a few months later (Jan. 1, 1515), before the first flattering impressions of his new English friends had time to wear away.

A much less favorable side of French as well as of English character was presented after Louis's death. The same jewels which had been so lavishly bestowed upon the royal bride a short time before now formed the subject of a long and intricate negotiation, in the conduct of which

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Triumphant Raigne of Kynge Henry the VIII (1548); Polydore Vergil, *Anglica Historia*, lib. xxvii. (Basileae, 1555); Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey;* Dugdale's *Baronage.*

2. Later histories—Herbert's *Life and Reign of King Henry VIII* (London, 1741—1st ed., 1649); J. S. Brewer, *The Reign of Henry VIII from his Accession to the Death of Wolsey*, 2 vols. (London, 1884); M. Creighton, *Cardinal Wolsey*, Twelve English Statesman Series (London, 1888); A. F. Pollard, *Henry VIII* (London, 1902); *The Cambridge Modern History*; vol. I, *The Rennaissance* (New York, 1902), Chap. XIV., The Early Tudors (Jas. Gairdner), pp. 463-492; *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

Mary's happiness and the obligations of "largesse" were alike forgotten by both Henry and Francis. Brewer says (p. 85): "In a fit of stinginess, more befitting his father, Henry demanded the restoration of Mary's jewels and furniture; all the expenses of her passage were to be returned, and the sums reimbursed that had been laid out in providing her bridal apparel." Not unnaturally the French objected; the negotiations were daily more complicated and embittered; "the generous spirit in which they had been commenced was fast disappearing, and was superseded by the less amiable desire of each party to outwit and overreach the other." Not until April 14, 1515, did Mary obtain a moiety of her dowry (Brewer, I. 92); "but her gold plate and her jewels, with the exception of 'four *bayues* of no great value,' were never restored, on the beggarly plea that Francis, sorely displeased at the loss of the diamond called the Mirror of Naples, would do no more."

Naturally the reputation of Francis for liberality was at a low ebb in England after these transactions, and the state of feeling at the English Court would probably have been exactly expressed by Skelton's disparaging comparison. But there were other causes for hostile feeling on the part of Englishmen toward France and its king. Notwithstanding the fact that an alliance had been concluded between the two countries by Wolsey soon after Francis's accession, their relations became exceedingly strained during the first two years of Francis's reign. Henry was opposed to the Italian expedition which Francis undertook immediately, and was much disappointed on hearing of his great victory at the battle of Marignano (Sept. 14, 1515; see Brewer, I. 105 ff.). The English king was suspected by the French of preparing his fleet against them. Up to the battle he had not been guilty of any overt act that could be construed into a breach of the treaty. After that time, till the treaty of Noyon (Aug. 13, 1516), England was virtually at war with France, by subsidizing the Swiss at great expense to accompany Maximilian the emperor in a futile expedition into the north of Italy. The first volume of Brown's *Four Years at the Court of Henry VIII* is full of these transactions, and of the bitter complaints that were rife at the English Court against Francis.

This state of hostility to France seems to be reflected in yet another passage of *Magnificence*, besides the slur at Francis's liberality. When Fancy produces his forged letter (l. 308), he affirms that he received it from Circumspection at Pountesse "beyonde the se" (l. 341), and then delivers a harrowing tale of his return and his experiences "at the see syde" (l. 346 ff.):

> "there is suche a wache,
> That no man can scape but they hym cache.
> They bare me in hande that I was a spye. . . .
> To gete me fro them I had moche warke. . . .
> By my trouthe, had I not payde and prayde,
> And made Largesse, as I hyght,
> I had not ben here with you this nyght.
> But surely Largesse saued my lyfe."

Whether the crowd at the seaside was an English or a French crowd does not appear; but the point of the allusion can hardly be understood in any other way than by supposing such a state of semi-hostility as we know to have existed in 1515 and 1516.[1]

In the treaty of Noyon (Aug. 13, 1516) England was not included; but from this time began negotiations for peace. Peace was finally arranged Oct. 1518, through the efforts of Wolsey, by the betrothal of Francis to the infant Princess Mary. On this occasion there was an embassy from France to England and *vice versa* (see Brewer, I. 197–206); with enormous expense on both sides. English criticism of Francis for neglect of "largesse" could hardly have found place after this display of it, during which the king of France is said (Brewer, I. 205) to have spent 450,000 crowns on a single entertainment.

If such data for determining the time when *Magnificence* is likely to have been written are admitted as valid, we have a criterion by which we may fix its dates within much narrower limits than have been heretofore suggested. It must have been composed after the full extent of Francis's meanness over the question of the dowry became apparent, and after friendly relations between the two countries had ceased, hence hardly before the battle of Marignano (Sept. 14, 1515); and, on the other hand, it must have been composed while hostility was still acute, and before Francis's rare display of "circumspection" could be forgotten or effaced by later proofs that he could rival Henry himself in devotion to "fancy" and "folly" in his money affairs, hence probably before the treaty of Noyon (Aug. 13, 1516), and surely before Francis's betrothal to the Princess Mary in October, 1518.

[1] Fancy's unpleasant experience had an interesting parallel in fact in the troubles encountered by the Venetian ambassador, Andrew Badoer, on his journey from Venice to England in 1509. The relations between England and France were much the same then as in 1515–1516; Louis was away on his Italian expedition, and the two countries were on the eve of war (cf. Brewer, I. 13), which actually broke out a few years later. The Venetian is relating his difficulties in getting across the French territory into Calais (Rawdon Brown, *Four Years at the Court of Henry VIII*, I. 66): "I experienced greater difficulty in getting into this place, than had befallen me throughout the rest of my journey, the country being open on every side with

III. Plot.

Magnificence contains no trace of act or scene-division. As with all the earlier native drama, it still lacks any attempt to mark the joints in its structure by breaks in its performance. Indeed, during the whole of the play's 2567 lines,[1] the stage is never once left unoccupied. But the articulation wanting in the external form is present none the less in the structure itself. The different stages of the action are treated with a distinctness, a contrast in method of development, a sense for their separate unity, in which Skelton undeniably surpasses his predecessors. *Magnificence* falls into five parts whose points of demarcation are clearly marked and carefully worked up to. In this edition, these parts, which amount virtually though not formally to acts, have been indicated under the name of "stages"; and a further division into scenes after the continental system has been added for convenience in marking the exits and entrances and the arrangement of *rôles*. The five stages find their natural limits at the departure of the hero Magnificence from the stage, l. 395, his re-entrance, l. 1374, and the two well-prepared dramatic climaxes, of prosperous insolence, l. 1874, and of abasement and despair, l. 2324. In order to show this important characteristic of the structure of the play, the following brief analysis by "stages" may be of service :—

I. *Prosperity.* The first stage has for its objects to present the hero uncorrupted and secure, and to expound the issue that is to be fought out around him. The second of these objects is accomplished first, in the formal opening dispute, or *débat*, between the two courtiers Felicity, or Wealth, and Liberty. They discuss the question, Which aim should a prince put first, the preservation of his wealth or the gratification of his will? The side of prudence is reinforced by the entrance of Measure, one of the oldest ministers of the prince; and it has already triumphed in the argument, when Magnificence enters and ratifies Measure's decision.

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numerous fortified towns belonging to the French on the borders, which are very strictly guarded from fear of the English, so that, on one and the same morning, I was thrice stopped by three French companies, who inquired my errand; and finding myself at one time distant two miles from Calais, and at the other one mile, I answered haughtily, that I was an Englishman coming from Flanders, having been sent by my master for the presents, and then on my way home, so that they let me pass, but rode after me to within a bow-shot's distance from the walls of Calais, where I found an English armed bark bound to London, on which I took passage with my horses, and in one day and night reached London in safety, praised be God. I like to give you all these details that you may know what a pleasant journey I had on my way to this country."

[1] According to Dyce's numbering, 2596 lines,—the difference being due to about thirty cases where he counts a single line divided between two or more speakers, but metrically one, as more than one.

Liberty is quite discredited, and finally, to his disgust, is dismissed in Measure's custody. But a cloud appears on the horizon with the entrance of Fancy, that is, caprice, who, not without difficulty, ingratiates himself with Magnificence by a false name and a forged letter from the prince's old friend Circumspection. Magnificence takes him into service and carries him home to the palace, but not before he has already dropped some seeds of future mischief into his master's ear (lines 1–402).

II. *Conspiracy.* The second stage does for the so-called "vices" what the first has done for the "virtues," but in a different way. The conspirators reveal themselves by long monologues interspersed with lively scenes of quarrelsome plotting. When Fancy returns to the stage alone, he finds there an accomplice in the new-comer, Counterfeit Countenance, who is followed successively by three other confederates, Crafty Conveyance, Cloaked Collusion, and Courtly Abusion. These four are partly abstractions, partly types, representing evils prevalent at court. Finally Fancy's own brother Folly enters and proves his right to be considered less wise and at the same time more crafty than all the rest. We see during this stage only the representatives of evil. But we are kept informed of the action going on off the stage, which is as important as that on it. At the palace Fancy presents each of his friends under false names, and each accomplishes his special bit of mischief. The conspiracy has triumphed when at last we hear that Measure has been thrown out of favor, and Courtly Abusion and Folly have been appointed respectively master of revels and chief butler (lines 403–1374).

III. *Delusion.* The third stage shows, arranged in strict order of climax, the remaining steps in the ensnarement of Magnificence by evil counsellors. When he returns to the stage, he naturally betrays a decided deterioration of character. He tells how he has dismissed Measure and put his Felicity in the keeping of Liberty and Fancy, and then indulges in a lofty and distinctly Herodean monologue. He is still further corrupted by the profligate counsels of Courtly Abusion. Measure now enters humbly to make a last suit for re-instatement, but through the cunning of Cloaked Collusion is rejected with insult. On the advice of Collusion, under whose influence he now passes, Magnificence transfers the chief supervision to the four court vices. At last he sinks to the level of Folly, and marks, by diverting himself with the fool's nonsense rimes, his lowest depth of moral and intellectual degradation. He is rudely awakened by Fancy, who announces that the four supervisors have absconded, and ushers in the doom for which the unfortunate prince is ripe (lines 1375–1874).

IV. *Overthrow.* The third stage has risen to the climax of folly; the fourth descends to the climax of disgrace and despair. While his false counsellors are fleeing, Adversity enters, and Magnificence is "beten downe and spoylyd from all his goodys and rayment." Adversity explains himself at length, and hands the wretched "caytyfe" over to Poverty, who paints his cheerless future. Then he is visited by a succession of figures more and more sinister, and after each visit he bewails his lot in a brief monologue. Liberty returns to enforce the moral. Three of the conspirators, who at first fail to recognize him in his rags, and then gloat over him, further embitter his misery. When they depart, Despair enters and advises suicide; and finally Mischief brings him a knife and a halter. Magnificence is on the point of killing himself, when Good Hope rushes in and snatches the knife from his hands (lines 1875–2324).

V. *Restoration.* The fifth stage is the least dramatic, and consists merely in the re-enlightenment of Magnificence by the successive instructions of four of the virtues. Part of it seems to have been lost. Good Hope cheers the unfortunate victim, and as his "potecary" administers to him the "rubarbe of repentaunce." He confesses his folly to Redress, and is clothed with a new habiliment. Then his old friend Circumspection enters and points out how his error sprang from hasty credence. Lastly Perseverance adds his good advice to the rest. Then in a formal epilogue all turn to the audience and once more carefully repeat the moral. Thereupon they resort home to the palace "with ioy and ryalte,"

"There to indeuer with all Felycyte" (lines 2325–2567).

IV. Dramatis Personae.

In most of the moral plays preserved to us, the personages introduced fall easily into three main groups: neutral characters, vices, and virtues. Such a division is self-evident where a play uses the favorite conflict form. It had doubtless become conventional; the printer of *Magnificence* seems to have had it in mind in arranging and grouping his list of the eighteen "names of the players" (see p. 1). The terms "virtues" and "vices" are, indeed, less strictly applicable in *Magnificence* than in the purely theological moralities that first brought allegory into the drama. In the earlier plays the issue had been between good and evil; in *Magnificence* it is simply between prudence and folly. The shift in point of view is all-important for the position of the play in the history

of the morality species. Otherwise, however, the analogy in character-grouping is perfect, and easily accounts for the retention in the play itself of the terms as names for the respective sides (see ll. 134 and 2101, 2).

The chief neutral figure in the play, and the only figure wholly neutral, is the hero Magnificence. With him, however, we shall most naturally classify two other personages, Felicity and Liberty, who may be called semi-neutral. They announce very clearly to which side their respective sympathies are inclined, but the author is just as careful to insist that they do not belong to either side. Felicity is the prize of the war, and passes, though reluctantly, from the control of the virtue Measure to that of the vices; and Liberty is made to say expressly (ll. 2101, 2):

> "For I am a vertue yf I be well vsed,
> And I am a vyce where I am abused."

The "virtues," so called, of *Magnificence* are five in number. Only one of them, Measure, appears during the first three stages of the play. The other four enter for the first time in Stage V. But Circumspection is also virtually present in Stage I, through the use made of his name and the forged letter (see ll. 308–15, 334, 5). His absence has an essential place in the original allegory: it is while Circumspection is temporarily "beyonde the se" that Measure is ousted by Fancy and Folly, and Magnificence thereupon visited by Adversity and Poverty; and when Circumspection returns (l. 2418), Magnificence is soon restored to Felicity. Measure and Circumspection thus naturally belong together. They are the old counsellors of the prince; and while they correspond to the virtues proper of the older plays, they bear new names in morality casts, consciously translated into terms of the new allegory. The other three, on the contrary, Good Hope, Redress, and Perseverance, are stock figures, found, one or more of them, substantially in the "repentance" scenes which form a regular stage in the earlier moral plays. Here it is seldom difficult to distinguish them from the virtues proper, which are primarily objective personifications of good qualities rather than agents of reformation. The distinction may be marked by naming these characters Graces rather than virtues. In *Magnificence* they are further distinguished by remaining outside the secular allegory; no effort is made to invent for them any place in the court.

Eight characters are ranged on the other side of the contest. Among them we can distinguish three groups. Balancing Measure and Circumspection are their two opposites, the brothers (l. 1069) Fancy and Folly.

But the symmetry is broken by the insertion of a group of four other vices precisely between Fancy, who begins the delusion of the prince, and Folly, who consummates it. These are the four court vices, Counterfeit Countenance, Crafty Conveyance, Cloaked Collusion, and Courtly Abusion. The depicting of this group of four consumes much of the bulk and strength of the drama. They embody the particular abuses of court-life which Skelton wished to satirize. Fancy and Folly, on the contrary, are more general conceptions; and they are furthermore distinguished by being assigned the special *rôle* of fools or jesters; exactly the *rôle* which, as I shall attempt to show, we find in later plays named that of the "Vice."

All six of these figures, however, are alike in correspondence to the vices proper of the older plays, and in opposition to the virtues proper rather than to the "graces" of *Magnificence*. To balance the latter we find Despair and Mischief, formal contraries of Good Hope, Redress, and Perseverance, and like them taken from the traditional morality cast without being wrought into adequate connection with the new allegory. A special feature of Despair and Mischief is their noticeable reminiscence of the devil-figures of the earlier moral plays and miracles, shown particularly in their last exclamations when they flee leaving Magnificence in the act of suicide.

Two figures remain yet unclassified, Adversity and Poverty. They form a group distinct from both vices and virtues. As hostile to Magnificence, they might be classed with the vices; and this is apparently what the printer has done in his list. But essentially as well as historically, they are not vices at all, but rather punishments of vice, and sent from God. They are pious, and their conversation is distinctly edifying; in this respect they differ essentially from Despair and Mischief, with whom they share the restriction of appearing only in the fourth Stage of the play,—the Overthrow. Yet their names forbid them to be classed as virtues. Dramatically they must be regarded as a fourth group,—Agents of Punishment.

The complexity of this division and sub-division must obtain its final justification in comparison with the other morality casts. It is worth noting here that the real identity which this will reveal is obscured on first acquaintance with *Magnificence* by a quality distinctively Skeltonic,—the originality, not to say capriciousness, of his vocabulary. In the nomenclature of his characters he has in many cases disguised real kinship with earlier figures. The other moral plays inherited with their casts the traditional names for hero, vices, and virtues, and seldom

varied them. Skelton accepted in the main the traditional cast, but in most cases invented his own names.

The originality of Skelton's choice of words was remarked in the very earliest allusion we possess to his literary work. In Caxton's well-known petition in the preface of his *Boke of Eneydos*, 1490 (E. E. T. S., Extra Series, LVII, p. 3; quoted by Dyce, I. xi), to "mayster Iohn Skelton, late created poete laureate in the vnyuersite of oxenforde, to ouersee and correcte this sayd booke. . . . For he hath late translated the epystlys of Tulle, and the boke of dyodorus syculus, and diuerse other werkes oute of latyn into englysshe, not in rude and olde langage, but in polysshed and ornate termes craftely, as he that hath redde vyrgyle, ouyde, tullye, and all the other noble poetes and oratours, to me vnknowen," what is significant is that at thirty Skelton was known as a translator rather than a poet, and had impressed contemporaries chiefly by his ornate diction. Unfortunately for the history of a critical period of English prose, these translations are lost or remain unpublished; but a specimen of his prose, which surely contains more than a prophecy of the Euphuism to come, is preserved in the *Replycacion agaynst Certayne Yong Scolers* (Dyce, I. 206-24), written, to quote an irresistible passage, to show "Howe yong scolers nowe a dayes enbolned with the flyblowen blast of the moche vayne glorious pipplyng wynde, whan they haue delectably lycked a lytell of the lycorous electuary of lusty lernyng, in the moche studious scolehous of scrupulous Philology, countyng them selfe clerkes exellently enformed and transcendingly sped in moche high connyng . . . . . as touching the tetrycall theologisacioun of these demy diuines, and Stoicall studiantes, and friscaioly yonkerkyns, moche better bayned than brayned, basked and baththed in their wylde burblyng and boyling blode, feruently reboyled with the infatuate flames of their rechelesse youthe and wytlesse wontonnesse, enbrased and enterlased with a moche fantasticall frenesy of their insensate sensualyte, surmysed vnsurely in their perihermeniall principles, to prate and to preche proudly and leudly, and loudly to lye." Few passages that could be selected from Skelton's poetical pieces vie with this in the use of "polysshed and ornate termes craftely"; but how much ornateness has been carried over into the poems is apparent on comparing their extraordinarily wide and difficult vocabulary with the simple and remarkably modern language of a contemporary such as Barclay.

For a part of the nomenclature of *Magnificence*, Skelton has used some of his craftiest terms, and their force is not always easy to grasp, even when they are put beside their traditional predecessors. Only

three of the personages of the play,—Perseverance, Folly, and Mischief, —bear older morality names. Four of the rest,—Measure, Despair, Adversity, Poverty,—are really new allegorical conceptions, which replace and not merely rename older figures. In the remaining eleven the naming is new, the conception beneath only partly so. The traditional figures are translated more or less successfully from the religious into the secular atmosphere; and it is this translation more than anything else that is reflected in the change of names. Accordingly most of them are Aristotelian in coloring, for Aristotle is the ultimate source of the fundamental allegory. Magnificence, Measure, Felicity, are distinctively Aristotelian terms, and the same origin, less immediate, is discernible for Circumspection and Liberty, Fancy and Largess, Folly and Conceit. Another source, the *Romaunt of the Rose*, from which Skelton had already drawn largely in his *Bowge of Court*, is traceable in such names as Largess, Good Hope, Wealth or Richesse (for Felicity), and Reason (for Circumspection).

Skelton has given a valuable clue to the intention of his terminology in the abundant synonyms which he uses everywhere for his conceptions, both when personified and when apparently unpersonified. I have in the text attempted to capitalize these varying terms, as better expressing their value as employed in the morality form. For the six "vices proper" Skelton has further, and in a more formal way, chosen antonyms or aliases, in accordance with a frequent practice of the moralities. In the following classified character-list, I have attempted to give with each name the variant terms used most frequently, then the Skeltonic meaning where this differs from the modern, and finally the antecedents of the term, whether in the older moralities, in Aristotle, or elsewhere.

The names of the players.

(I. *Neutral characters:* a. *wholly neutral.*)

1. Magnificence. Synonyms: Nobleness (ll. 18, 194, and frequently), High or Noble Estate (2, 370), Honor (204), Dignity (2495), Wórship (267).

Meaning: Princely munificence or bounty (*N. E. D.* 2). The modern sense of glory or greatness of name (*N. E. D.* 3) was also strongly felt, as appears from the use of the word in ll. 229, 1516, 2558, and from the synonyms; but the name was doubtless chosen with primary reference to the play's special moral.

Antecedents. In using an abstract term for his hero's name Skelton differs from all the earlier plays except the *Pride of Life* (King of Life); elsewhere, even when a specialized type, the central figure is called

Mankind, Man, Everyman, etc. Skelton has here adopted the term regularly used to translate the Aristotelian virtue μεγαλοπρέπεια, which is explained in the *Nichomachean Ethics* as signifying suitable expenditure on a large scale (Book IV, Chapters IV.–VI.). In part, however, the conception as it appears in the play answers better to the virtue which Aristotle treats just before magnificence, viz. ἐλευθεριότης, liberality (Chapters I.–III.). The confusion is pardonable, for the two virtues are closely akin, as Aristotle himself declares. Magnificence exceeds liberality in scale; it is the liberality of the great. Doubtless for this reason Skelton selected it as the name of his prince. But Aristotle adds to this distinction that magnificence includes good taste, and accordingly makes it the mean between vulgarity on one side and meanness on the other; whereas liberality is a mean between prodigality and illiberality. This element is quite absent from Skelton's conception, which, except for the high rank of its exponent, is exactly the liberality of Aristotle. When, as above noted, Magnificence is used for nobility or greatness in general, we apparently have another confusion, this time with the Aristotelian μεγαλοψυχία, magnanimity (Chapters VII.–IX.), which, as Aristotle says, shows the possession of such greatness as belongs to every virtue. This is due, however, less to the mistake of the poet than to the change of the language, which had long before (see *N. E. D.* 3) generalized the word. But the double usage of the word by Skelton is interesting in view of the unquestionable mistake made later by Spenser in his introductory letter to the *Faërie Queene*, when he says: "In the person of Arthur, I sette forth magnificence in particular, which virtue for that (according to Aristotle and the rest) it is the perfection of all the rest, and containeth in it them all" (see Jusserand, "Spenser's Twelve Private Morall Vertues," *Mod. Phil.* III. 373–384). Spenser in all probability owes the name Colin Clout to Skelton's satire by that title; and it is not impossible that he was misled by the ambiguous usage of Skelton's morality.

(b. *semi-neutral.*)

2. Felicity. Wealth is everywhere used as a second name. Other synonyms: Plenty (121), Riches (2522), Substance (1445), Prosperity (141, 197).

Meaning: That which causes or promotes happiness or felicity in the modern sense (*N. E. D.* 2).

Antecedents. In the figure Goods (*Everyman*) we have an embodiment of the same conception on the side merely of wealth. But Skelton's

Felicity is a much broader idea. The name is again from Aristotle; εὐδαιμονία, or happiness, the *summum bonum* or aim of all the virtues (*Nichomachean Ethics*, Bk. I.). In identifying felicity so closely with wealth, Skelton seems to run counter to his master, who expressly denies that wealth can be considered the true end (Chapter III.). Yet the disagreement is largely superficial. Aristotle lays down the principle (Chapter VI.) that the nature of happiness depends on the proper function of man; and Skelton by emphasizing the element of wealth probably had in mind merely the happiness proper to exalted rank, and naturally most prominent in connection with virtues that in Aristotle's words "have to do with property" (IV. iv.).

3. Liberty. Synonyms: Will (19, 148, and frequently), Corage (47), Free Will (147), Appetite (1420, 1793); when excessive, Wantonness (149, 2504), Insolence (85).

Meaning: Faculty or power to do as one likes (*N. E. D.* 3).

Antecedents. The characters Will in *Wisdom* and Free Will in *Hickscorner* are nearly equivalent conceptions. Both Will and Liberty represent mental faculties, Will being distinguished from Mind and Understanding, and Liberty from Circumspection. Both in a degraded state are especially given to the sins of the flesh; Will turns into Lechery, and Liberty enters in Stage IV. (ll. 2064–77) singing a licentious song. But *Magnificence* probably draws its psychology directly from Aristotle, and independently of the earlier plays, which add much theological coloring. In the *Ethics* (V. ii.), Aristotle discusses the two faculties of the soul which alone can originate moral action, νοῦς or λόγος, reason, and ὄρεξις, appetite or desire. The reason is always on the side of virtue, whereas the other faculty may be either virtuous or vicious according as it obeys or resists reason, but is naturally disposed to resist reason. This is well brought out in an earlier passage, where Aristotle is discussing whether to class this part of the soul as rational or irrational (I. xiii.). I quote a part from Welldon's translation (J. E. C. Welldon, *The Nichomachean Ethics Translated with an Analysis and Critical Notes*, 1892): "It seems that there is another natural principle of the soul which is irrational and yet in a sense partakes of reason. For in a continent or incontinent person we praise the reason, and that part of the soul which possesses reason, as it exhorts men rightly and exhorts them to the best conduct. But it is clear that there is in them another principle which is naturally different from reason, and fights and contends against reason. . . . But it appears that this part too partakes of reason, as we said; at all events in a continent person it obeys reason, while in a temperate or

courageous person it is probably still more obedient as being absolutely harmonious with reason. It appears then that the irrational part of the soul is itself twofold; for the vegetative faculty [*i. e.* that part of the soul which we share with all living things] does not participate at all in reason, but the faculty of desire or general concupiscence participates in it more or less, in so far as it is submissive and obedient to reason. . . . Virtue or excellence, again, admits of a distinction which depends on this difference. For we speak of some virtues as intellectual and of others as moral, wisdom, intelligence, and prudence, being intellectual, liberality and temperance being moral virtues." Liberality is thus a virtue in which this faculty of desire or appetite plays an essential part. In discussing the other moral virtue, temperance, Aristotle adds some remarks on this subject which are particularly illuminating for *Magnificence* (III. xv.): "For the longing for pleasure which a foolish person has is insatiable and universal, and the active exercise of the desire augments its native strength, until the desires, if they are strong or vehement, actually expel the reasoning power. They ought therefore to be moderate and few, and in no way contrary to reason. . . . In the temperate man then the concupiscent element ought to live in harmony with the reason, as nobleness is the object of them both."

Close as Aristotle comes to covering exactly the ideas of *Magnificence*, —and the last passage quoted is very nearly the plot of the play,—it is noticeable that he gives us nowhere the name Liberty itself. Indeed he is apparently undecided what to call this "part of the soul," varying between such terms as desire, concupiscent element, appetite, which are reflected, as we have seen, as well as the earlier morality terms will and free will, in the synonyms used for Liberty. This happy name suggests still a different point of view. In brief, the reason for its use would seem to be as follows. It might seem that Liberty should have been opposed to Reason (or as Skelton calls it, Circumspection) instead of to Felicity; and indeed it would have been patently illogical to have set up a mental faculty, such as Will or Desire, over against a condition or state such as Felicity. But Reason could not have been made in any degree a neutral figure here, as it is in earlier moralities, without violating the central Aristotelian principle which enrolled it on the side of virtue. The problem was solved by inventing the term Liberty. As Felicity is the goal to be achieved by perfect submission to Reason, so Liberty might be regarded as the aim of the desires or will. It is an ideal which like the desires themselves is unobjectionable in restraint, but which

naturally tends to the obscuring and destroying of the higher ideal of Felicity.

Thus we have a struggle for supremacy between two ideals, both of which are legitimate; as Liberty puts it (ll. 1431–3):

> "Lyb. Whether sholde Welth be rulyd by Lyberte,
> Or Lyberte by Welth? let se, tell me that.
> Fel. Syr, as me semeth, ye sholde be rulyd by me."

The primitive moral play depicted with theological fury a life-and-death combat between cardinal virtues and deadly sins. Here we have entered into the calmer waters of philosophy.

The three conceptions, Magnificence, Felicity, Liberty, which Skelton has thus put at the centre of his drama, appear again combined in a notable stanza of Dunbar's *Golden Targe* (l. 172 ff.), which is cited in the *N. E. D.* under Liberty:

> "Unto the pres persewit Hie Degree;
> Hir folowit ay Estate and Dignitee,
> Comparisoun, Honour, and Nobill Array,
> Will, Wantonness, Renoun, and Libertee,
> Richesse, Freedome, and eke Nobilitee."

(II. *Virtues or representatives of good:* a. *virtues proper.*)

4. Measure. Synonyms: the "mean" (188), Prudence or Sober (Sad) Direction (16, 18, 149), Continence or Moderation (44, 47, 2490), Law or Judicial Rigor (68, 69, 75).

Antecedents. No character answering to Measure can be found in the earlier moral plays, although the principle is several times advocated, especially in *Mankind* and *Nature*. It is clearly a first-hand importation from the *Ethics* of Aristotle, of whose system it forms the centre, in accordance with the famous dictum that virtue lies in the mean. The synonymous terms are also distinctly Aristotelian. Used interchangeably by Skelton, they are of course carefully analyzed and distinguished by Aristotle, but are all alike based on the principle of the mean: Prudence (V. v.) is the use of measure in determining one's actions, Continence (VII. ii.) is adherence to measure in resisting one's desires, Law (V. ii.–v.) is the outward test of measure in respect to justice.

In one passage Skelton cites Horace as his authority for advocating Measure (ll. 114, 115):

> "Oracius to recorde in his volumys olde,
> With euery condycyon Measure must be sought."

He refers of course to the Tenth Ode of the Second Book:

> "Aurcam quisquis mediocritatem
> Diligit tutus . . . .
> Rebus angustis animosus atque
> Fortis appare; sapienter idem
> Contrahes uento nimium secundo
> Turgida uela."

That he was also familiar with the general Greek idea of measure as the keynote of the proper conduct of life is also evident from a stanza of that curious polyglot production *Speak Parrot* (Dyce, II. 4, ll. 52–8), where the oracular bird delivers himself as follows:

> "'*Moderata juvant*, but *toto* doth excede;
> Dyscressyon is moder of noble vertues all;
> *Myden agan* in Greke tonge we rede;
> But Reason and Wyt wantyth theyr prouyncyall
> When Wylfulnes is vycar generall.'
> *Haec res acu tangitur*, Parrot, *par ma foy!*
> *Ticez vous*, Parrot, *tenez vous coye.*"

But the *mediocritas* of Horace's worldly wise philosophy has in reality little to do with measure as an ethical principle (cf. Muirhead, *Chapters from Aristotle's Ethics*, London, 1903, p. 88), and Skelton's careful philosophical scheme is based on something more than a chance quotation or proverb.

5. Circumspection. Synonyms: Reason (1, 19, 38, and frequently), Wisdom, Sapience, or Skill (4, 1401, 2372, 148), Thought (207), Wit (1868); usually with the epithet "sad," *i. e.* sober.

Antecedents. Although the name Circumspection had not been used before, the conception had been used, in somewhat different connection, in a number of earlier plays. In *Wisdom*, where we found Will almost equivalent to Liberty, we have two characters, Mind and Understanding, which together correspond to Circumspection. In *Nature*, we have Reason, who is however there opposed to Sensuality instead of to the will or desires. In *Four Elements*, Studious Desire is merely the Reason of Nature under another name. From the Aristotelian point of view, Circumspection is the reason or λόγος which constitutes the corrective or regulative part of the soul as over against appetite or desire in the contest described above. It would seem somewhat more suitable if Skelton had adhered here to the traditional name Reason instead of substituting for it Circumspection, but at all events the identification is unmistakable. In the play, it is in the absence of Circumspection that Liberty reinforced by the vices succeeds

in deluding and misleading Magnificence; and they delude him by leading him, through a forged letter, to believe that they are really servants of the absent Circumspection. Measure unaided in spite of a valiant struggle is unable to hold his own and is expelled; but when Circumspection returns to the fallen prince his recovery follows at once. All this is flawlessly Aristotelian. Aristotle accepted the Socratic doctrine, that vice is possible only in the absence of knowledge, but only after carefully defining in what sense he wished knowledge to be understood. Possibly by substituting Circumspection for Reason Skelton had in mind this restricted Aristotelian definition. A significant passage may be cited from the middle of the discussion, which occupies Chapters III–V of the Seventh Book:

"But we use the word knowledge in two distinct senses; we speak of a person as knowing if he possesses knowledge but does not apply it, and also if he applies his knowledge. There will be a difference then between doing wrong, when one possesses knowledge but does not reflect upon it, and so doing when one not only possesses the knowledge but reflects upon it. It is in the latter case that wrong action appears strange, but not if taken without reflection."

Circumspection then represents this knowledge applied or reflected upon, which is the one indispensable ally of virtue; for when it is absent, mere prudence or measure alone is unable permanently to resist the onslaught of the passions.

(b. *Graces.*)

6. Good Hope.

Compare Mercy (*Cast. of Pers.*, *Mankind*), Pity (*Hickscorner*), and Knowledge (*Everyman*). We here abandon Aristotle and return to the distinctly theological groove of the older plays. Good Hope, although not himself found previously, is representative of a familiar class. He is one of the three chief Christian graces, Faith, Hope, and Charity, to whom may be added such figures as Mercy and Justice, Truth and Peace, Pity, and the like. Almost any one of them might have been selected here instead of Good Hope, and perhaps to indicate this most of them are mentioned by Despair, their special opponent, just before he is put to flight (ll. 2287–90):

> "Of faruent Charyte I quenche out the bronde;
> Faythe and Good Hope I make asyde to stonde.
> In Goddys Mercy, I tell them, is but Foly to truste;
> All Grace and Pyte I lay in the duste."

Skelton was also familiar with the use of the name in the *Romaunt of the Rose* (see ll. 2768–2896).

7. Redress.

Meaning: Correction, amendment, or reformation of something wrong (*N. E. D.* 2 b). Compare Penitentia (*Cast. of Pers.*), Shamefastness (*Nature*), Confession (*Everyman*). Good Hope represents those graces which proceed from God to the repentant sinner, Redress those which the sinner himself manifests toward God. Redress clothed Magnificence with a new "abylyment," just as Knowledge does in *Everyman*. But the symbolism is slightly different: Everyman's garment is the "garment of sorrow" or contrition, Magnificence's is a garment of "solace" (l. 2403).

8. Perseverance.

A stock figure, found with the same name in *Hickscorner* and *Mundus et Infans;* compare also the castle where the virtues dwell in the *Cast. of Pers.* The word is used in the moralities with a force considerably broader than to-day; cf. the definition given in the *Kalendar of Shepherdes* (ed. H. O. Sommer, London, 1892, vol. III. 99):

"Perseuerance is a uertue that establysheth and confermeth the courage by a perfeccyon of vertues that is in a man, and ben perfyte by force of longanymyte." It is equivalent to Chaucer's "constaunce," one of the five "speces of fortitude" in the *Parson's Tale* (l. 735), defined as "stablenesse of corage."

(III. *Vices or representatives of evil:* a. *vices proper.* 1. *vice-fools, or "Vices."*)

9. Fancy. Synonyms: Wilfulness (1594, 2379, 2432), Wilful Waywardness (2486), Lust-and-Liking (1607, 2078), Insolence (2116), Wanton Excess (2409).

Meaning: Wilfulness, caprice, or fantasticalness (*N. E. D.* 7, and 7 b). Skelton's "Fancy" is closer in meaning to modern "fantasy" than to "fancy"; cf. *N. E. D. sub* fantasy: "The shortened form Fancy, which apparently originated in the 15th c., had in the time of Shakespere become more or less differentiated in sense"; but compare such modern phrases as "to take a fancy to," etc.

Antecedents. Compare Voluptas, also called Lust-and-Liking (*Cast. of Pers.*), Will, in its degraded state (*Wisdom*), and Wanton and Lust-and-Liking, two of the names assumed by Man (*Mundus et Infans*). Fancy, as opposed to Measure, corresponds most nearly to the Aristotelian

vice of incontinence, used in a general sense (VII. vi.), in which it might be qualified, as Aristotle says, by speaking of a man as incontinent in respect to money or honour or passion. It is thus little more than excess, the essential element of every vice, induced by yielding to the desire or appetite and disregarding reason, *i. e.* exactly "Wanton Excess." With respect to the particular virtue of the play, excess would take the form of prodigality; but Skelton keeps to the general conception, which affords a logically precise counterpart to Measure.

Another class of epithets brings out the other side of Fancy's character, that of the fool: Fondness (1866), Fansy Small-Brayne (583), frantyke Fansy (1024), and the constant use of adjectives like fonnish, fond, frantic, brainsick, feeble-fantastical (1073). These are to be distinguished from his allegorical function as embodiment of an abstract vice, and will require separate study.

Alias: Largess (270, 520). Synonym: Liberal Expense (2115), Liberality (2117, 2483).

Like all the rest of the vices proper, Fancy is provided with a false name. These, like the forged letter, are part of the mechanism by which Magnificence is persuaded that they are all servants of Circumspection. The aliases are naturally names of the virtues of which the vices themselves are excessive forms, although the correspondence is not always quite logical. Here Largess or liberality (*N. E. D.* 1) is the special virtue of the play, whose opposite, prodigality, is included under the wider term fancy or wanton excess. The name Largess, hardly an Aristotelian term, had for Skelton perhaps a special historical application (see p. cxxi), although it must have come to him in the first instance from the *Romaunt of the Rose.*

10. Folly.

Meaning: A combination of the sense "wickedness or evil" (*N. E. D.* 2), now obsolete, with the modern sense, "lack of understanding" (*N. E. D.* 1).

Antecedents. Folly appears as the name of a character in *Cast. of Pers.* and *Mundus et Infans.* Compare also Ignorance (*Four Elements*). As Circumspection is the cardinal Aristotelian virtue, so Folly, its opposite, is the cardinal vice, and is indeed a collective name for all vice. Several of the other vices are expressly called forms of Folly (Cou. Cou., ll. 411, 478; Cou. Ab., 858–64; Cra. Con., 1206, 8), and Fancy says to him (ll. 1291, 2);

> "I wote not whether it cometh of the or of me,
> But all is Foly that I can se."

In *Mundus et Infans* (see ll. 457 ff.), Folly is given the same comprehensive function. It is noteworthy that in the play Folly does not take Circumspection's place at once, but only after a long period of conflict, after Measure has been finally expelled (scene 25) and when the victim has fallen to the lowest point of delusion (scene 28).

The other side of Folly's character, as of Fancy's, is brought out by the epithets that mark him as a professional fool: fool (*passim*), "dyser" (1177), "daw" (1061), "farly freke" (1161), "mery knave" (1455). one who plays "at the hoddypeke" (1162), or "cocke wat" (1192).

Alias: Conceit (1310, 1452).

Meaning: Wit, "gaiety of imagination" (*N. E. D.* 8 d).

Antecedents. Here it is possible that Skelton has borrowed another of Aristotle's virtues, that usually translated wittiness, εὐτραπελία, which he defines (*Ethics*, IV. xiv.) as such fun as befits an honorable gentleman, the essence of which is tact. This is about the meaning of conceit as used in the play. Folly's real character, further, as a professional jester, exactly fits the definition that Aristotle gives of his vice buffoonery, βωμολοχία, the excess of this virtue: "Now they who exceed the proper limit in ridicule seem to be buffoons and vulgar people, as their heart is set upon exciting ridicule at any cost, and they aim rather at raising a laugh than at using decorous language and not giving pain to their butt. . . . But the buffoon is the slave of his own sense of humour; he will spare neither himself nor anybody else, if he can raise a laugh, and he will use such language as no person of refinement would use or sometimes even listen to."

(2. *Special or court-vices.*)

11. Counterfeit Countenance. Counterfeit: Pretending to be what he is not; false, deceitful (*N. E. D.* 3 b); countenance: Bearing, demeanor, comportment (*N. E. D.* 1).

The application of "counterfeit" to persons was common throughout the sixteenth century. It is interesting to note that Skelton's combination was caught up by Puttenham to translate the name of the figure *prosopographia*, *Arte of English Verse* (Arber Reprints, VII. 246, quoted in *N. E. D.*): "This kinde of representation is called the Counterfait countenance: as Homer does in his *Iliades*, diuerse personages: namely *Achilles* and *Thersites*, according to the truth and not by fiction. And as our poet *Chaucer* doth in his Canterbury tales set foorth the Sumner, Pardoner, Manciple, and the rest of the pilgrims, most naturally and pleasantly."

Alias: Good Demeanance (674, 1861). Modern "demeanor."

12. Cloaked Collusion. Collusion: Secret agreement for purposes of trickery, underhand scheming (*N. E. D.* 1).

Alias: Sober Sadness (681, 1631, 1855); *i. e.* seriousness.

13. Crafty Conveyance. Conveyance: Cunning management or contrivance, jugglery, underhand dealing (*N. E. D.* 11 b).

Alias: Sure Surveyance (525, 1862); *i. e.* supervision.

14. Courtly Abusion. Courtly: Pertaining to the court (*N. E. D.* 1); abusion: Anything opposed to propriety, improper usage, corrupt or shameful practice (*N. E. D.* 4).

Alias: Lusty Pleasure (ll. 965, 1452, 1860). Lusty: Merry, cheerful (*N. E. D.* 1 b).

These four figures are in their nomenclature the most strikingly novel of the play. It would seem that Skelton prided himself especially on the invention and delineation of this little group of typical evil courtiers; for in his description of the play in the *Garland of Laurel* (quoted above, p. xxi) he selects these alone for special mention. They are evidently somewhat unsymmetrically inserted into the character-scheme, having nothing to balance them on the side of the virtues; and the parts of the play where they appear seem to the modern reader drawn out to disproportionate length. Skelton has here departed from the Aristotelian terms and conceptions which he elsewhere levies upon for his additions to the traditional cast. The novelty in the group is indeed to some extent superficial. A distinct analogy can be made out with the degenerate shapes assumed by the three powers of man in *Wisdom:* Cloaked Collusion is roughly equivalent to certain followers of the debased Mind, such as Malice, Wreche, Discord; Counterfeit Countenance and Crafty Conveyance are both to be found essentially among the satellites of Understanding, the former in Perjury, Doubleness, Falsehood, Deceit, the latter in Wrong, Rapine, Sleight; and Courtly Abusion resembles the fallen Will, who becomes Lechery. Another side of the conception embodied in Courtly Abusion, viz. the devotee of fashion, is anticipated in *Mankind* in the trio Nought, New Guise, Nowadays. More than a hint of Cloaked Collusion might have been taken from the character Detractio in the *Castle of Perseverance.* But the probability that Skelton did owe anything to these anticipations in the earlier moralities is slight. The true succession is clearly indicated by the likeness which the group bears to the seven typical portraits of his earlier court satire, the *Bowge of Court;* for these, as Herford has pointed out, owed their inspiration to the *Narrenschiff* of Brandt. The details of the relation of the four figures

to this third source belong in another section; the fact that they come from a common source is significant here as another link binding together the group.

(b. *Diabolical figures.*)

15. Despair. Synonym: Wanhope (2337).

This figure is not found in any of the earlier moral plays, except so far as it is contained in the vice Accidia.

16. Mischief.

Also found in *Mankind.*

Exactly the same office is performed in *Mankind* by Mischief and his subordinate vices, as here by Mischief and Despair, viz. inciting to suicide. Also to be noted is the contrast between the pious Adversity and Poverty who begin Stage IV of *Magnificence*, and the devilish Despair and Mischief who close it,—a contrast marked in the parting words of the latter pair (ll. 2323, 4):

"Mys. Alarum, alarum! to longe we abyde!
Dys. Out harowe! hyll burneth! where shall I me hyde?"

"Out harowe!" is, as Cushman has shown (*The Devil and the Vice in the English Dramatic Literature before Shakespeare*, Stud. 2. engl. Phil., VI. Halle, 1900; pp. 29, 42), a characteristic exclamation of the devils in the mysteries.

(IV. *Agents of Punishment.*)

17. Adversity. Cf. the lines:

"I am Aduersyte, that for thy mysdede
From God am sent to quyte the thy mede." (ll. 1876, 7)
"The Stroke of God, Aduersyte, I hyght." (l. 1882)
"I am Goddys Preposytour——" (l. 1941)

i. e. according to Dyce's note, a scholar appointed by the master to overlook the rest.

18. Poverty. Cf. the lines:

"Nowe, syth it wyll no nother be,
All that God sendeth, take it in gre." (ll. 1978, 9)
"With harte contryte make your supplycacyon
Vnto your Maker, that made bothe you and me." (ll. 1991, 2)

These two figures are both new to the allegorical stage. They fill an office, however, that goes back to the very sources of the morality. Before *Magnificence*, but one agent of divine punishment had appeared,—Mors or Death (*Pride of Life*, *Cast. of Pers.*, *Death of Herod*, *Everyman*). He is here replaced by Adversity and Poverty in harmony with the

transference into the secular sphere which reigns throughout. From the Aristotelian point of view, the two figures may be considered the contraries of the one figure Felicity with his alternative name Wealth. Felicity and Adversity are the two general states toward which virtue and vice respectively tend; Wealth and Poverty are the particular forms which are appropriate to the particular virtue Magnificence, or liberality, and its excess.

V. Staging.

a. *Stage and Costumes.* *Magnificence* is strikingly poor in its indications of scene and staging. Much of this must doubtless be ascribed to imperfect transcription. No part of the play has suffered more at the hands of the printers than the stage-directions. Those which are given are about half in English, half in Latin, the latter barbarously transcribed and frequently defying emendation (cf. Dyce, *passim*); and a great many of the most necessary directions have been omitted. But it must be noted that those which remain, while they furnish many explicit notes as to gestures and method of acting, contain almost no allusions to the stage-setting. This poverty on the scenic side is in decided contrast to most of the preceding moral plays. Even where we have not a carefully elaborated stage-plan, as in the *Castle of Perseverance*, numerous and exact references to the positions of the actors and the stage-furniture generally show that a plan must have existed. We are not warranted in making such a supposition for *Magnificence*. What we can learn about its mounting is principally by indirect reference.

The play was evidently intended for a closed and comparatively small room, and apparently at night (see l. 365); it was thus what Rastell would probably have called an "interlude" and not a "stage playe" (cf. Chambers, II. 183, and refs.). That it was an indoors morality is shown by the exits and entrances of the characters, who were not compelled, as in the *Castle of Perseverance*, to remain on the stage continuously, but could and did frequently even shift their parts. In the usual term "place" or "locus" applied to the stage in the directions, however, we have a survival from the earlier use. Since there are never but four actors present together on the stage, a small platform would have sufficed. No reference is made to painted scenery, and little assistance could have been given to the imagination. There would seem to have been two exits (called "dores," l. 1725), to admit of the stage-play in ll. 395 ff., where Counterfeit Countenance enters on one side as Magnificence goes out on the other; cf. also l. 2324: "*Hic intrat* Good Hope,

fugientibus Dyspayre *et* Myschefe." Perhaps the characters coming from abroad entered on one side, those from the palace on the other. Since the stage was never entirely cleared, there was evidently no curtain. No one of the actors has any scaffold or fixed place, as Mundus in *Mundus et Infans*, Confession in *Everyman*, and *Jupiter* in Heywood's *Weather*. They do not seem even to make use of any seats or stage furniture, as at the beginning of *Nature*. The whole drama is acted standing, except when Magnificence is stricken down.

The matter of costume is often referred to, but very inexactly described. It may or may not have been emphasized, but it certainly did not form so essential a part of the play as in *Wisdom*, which is as purely a costume drama as any on the modern stage. The most elaborately dressed personage in *Magnificence* seems to have been Courtly Abusion, who is arrayed in the extremest and newest fashions (cf. ll. 745–766). Cloaked Collusion is astonished at the waste (l. 754), and unkindly remarks that his clothes "smell musty" (l. 761). Courtly Abusion himself gives a long description of his dress (ll. 829–855), and Fancy on entering is also struck by its richness (l. 960). As the character was intended as a satire on the fashionable follies of the court, caricature of the prevailing excess in dress was naturally vital to his part. Fancy's dress, on the other hand, is rather careless; he has no cap, and has lost his hat (l. 1031). Magnificence, at first evidently dressed as became his rank, is "beten downe and spoylyd from all his goodys and rayment" (l. 1875), but is restored again from his beggarly condition by Redress's "abylyment" (l. 2405). Poverty is "raggyd and rent, as ye may se" (l. 1962). Some use is also made of stage disguises. Cloaked Collusion enters (l. 572) so disguised that he is not recognized by his old friends Fancy and Crafty Conveyance. He wears priestly disguise—a cope or vestment, probably stolen, as it is too small for him (ll. 594–608)—which well befits his assumed name Sober Sadness. *Magnificence* has few stage properties, as compared with *Wisdom* and *Mankind*. Besides the *indumentum* of Redress, there are the knife and halter which Mischief offers to the despairing prince.

Of all questions of costume, the most important to the student is that relating to the dress of Fancy and Folly, which has an essential connection with their part in the play. The indications of their costume are, as we shall see, by no means the only marks to show that they were professional court fools; but this constitutes a part of the proof. In the disappearance of most of the stage directions and the corruption of those which remain, we have probably lost some explicit statements of their

intended *rôles*. But enough remains or can be gathered from the text to put the matter beyond doubt. As soon as Folly meets his long-lost brother, he remarks that Fancy is attired in the professional dress (l. 1047):

"What, frantyke Fansy! in a foles case?"

Cushman, p. 123, notes, would explain "case" here as meaning skin. The word may take both meanings (*N. E. D.* 4 and 4 b); but Folly is here considering externals,—he goes on to discuss the bird which Fancy has on his fist. Folly's costume is similarly indicated. When he first enters (l. 1043), we have the puzzling stage-direction: "*Hic ingrediatur* Foly *quatiendo crema et faciendo multum, feriendo tabulas, et similia.*" The word *crema* baffles elucidation; if we read *cremia* (one of Dyce's suggestions), *i. e.* pieces of dry wood or brush, we may perhaps understand the word as used of one form of the fool's bauble; cf. Douce, *Dissertation on the Clowns and Fools of Shakespeare* (p. 509): "In some old prints the fool is represented with a sort of flapper or rattle ornamented with bells. It seems to have been constructed of two round and flat pieces of wood or pasteboard." At any rate, it can hardly be doubted that we have here an allusion to the attributes and tricks of the professional jester. A little further down, we have an explicit mention of the fool's coat and mask worn by Folly: Crafty Conveyance, nettled at Folly's sarcastic remarks, says (1177, 8):

"In a cote thou can play well the dyser.
Fol. Ye, but thou can play the fole without a vyser."

Douce (p. 512) mentions another mark of the professional fool's costume as the purse or wallet: "A large purse or wallet at the girdle is a very ancient part of the fool's dress. Tarlton, who personated the clowns in Shakespeare's time, appears to have worn it. The budget given by Panurge to Triboulet the fool is described as made of a tortoise shell." Both Fancy and Folly are provided with purses which figure prominently in their acting: cf. ll. 347 and 1103 ff. Fancy and Folly are further distinguished from the other courtiers by being accompanied by animals. Fancy has a falcon on his wrist, Folly leads in a mangy dog (ll. 923, 1055). These were the natural appurtenances for the domestic or court fool.

All the characters must have been so dressed as to indicate their parts at a glance, but still so as to permit rapid shifting of costume to assume new parts. Time is always provided for this shifting, sometimes to the decided detriment of the action.

There are no female characters, as there are in the *Pride of Life*, *Wisdom*, and *Nature*.

b. *Ideal localization.*

If the poet had given little thought to the scenic mounting of his play, he had, on the other hand, very distinctly in mind its ideal localization. The difference here from the older plays is significant. We have no longer the vague country where Humanum Genus fluctuates between the Castle of Perseverance and "Covetyse scaffold," or where Everyman is summoned by Death and repairs to the House of Salvation. As the characters grew more personal in the passage from allegory to satire, the localities became more definite. We have in place of the generalization Mankind not only the prince, but an English prince.

References to England are fairly numerous (ll. 715, 883, etc.), and the action is still further localized to London by many allusions: *e. g.* l. 1404, "Taylers Hall"; l. 423, 910, "Tyburne"; ll. 2263 ff., "the halfe strete" (cf. Dyce's note). With considerable ingenuity and a care for the unity of place which would have delighted the critics of a later age, Skelton has fixed his action at a spot some distance from the "palace" (l. 2562; also referred to as the "place," l. 394, or "court," l. 660) of Magnificence. The prince comes here to meet his new friends; here, in his absence, the conspirators plot his destruction; here he returns to exhibit the closing scenes of his fatuity and degradation; then Adversity and Poverty overthrow him and leave him here in rags to be gloated over by his betrayers; and finally his spiritual advisers find him here and lead him clothed and in his right mind

"Home to your paleys with ioy and ryalte."

There is no shift of scenes, but from time to time we have reports of what is taking place at the palace (ll. 500–508, 639–646, 778, 933 ff., 1306 ff.).

It is this definite relation to the palace, rather than the London allusions, which is the specific novelty in the localization of *Magnificence*. The latter are also frequent in the contemporary or slightly earlier *Nature*, *Mundus et Infans*, *Hickscorner*, and *Four Elements*, but they created the atmosphere without fixing the place. As to the actual whereabouts of his action, Skelton probably had in mind a London street; cf. ll. 957 and 2263, and the stage direction at l. 1966: "*et locabit eum super locum stratum.*"

c. *Division of rôles.*

I have already noted that there are never but four actors on the stage at once. The play shows evident traces of the struggle to comply with this limitation. Its existence explains a number of awkward oddities in the dramatic arrangement of the scenes. So in the second stage, the six conspirators are never brought on together. They enter separately and depart one by one on trivial excuses, to be replaced after a sufficient interval for costume shifting by another member of the band. Certain of them never meet during the whole play. Thus Folly, Counterfeit Countenance, and Courtly Abusion apparently remain strangers to each other, evidently because one actor took all three parts. In the third part, the vices, together with Felicity, Liberty, and Measure, are similarly introduced by piecemeal to the presence of Magnificence; and one of them, Counterfeit Countenance, is overlooked altogether. In the dramatic 37th scene in the fourth Stage (ll. 2198–2276), where the successful conspirators discover their victim in rags and gloat over him, we miss Courtly Abusion, if not also Fancy and Folly. Good Hope is banished without much reason at line 2401, to permit the entrance of Perseverance at the close.

The natural inference from this patent restriction to four interlocutors, that there were but four actors, is however a mistake, as a practical trial of dividing the parts shows. It can be done only by splitting a single part between two actors in at least four cases,—the parts of Felicity, Fancy, Measure, and Cloaked Collusion. Not only would this have been extremely awkward, but in one case, that of Fancy, it would have spoiled one of the main points of the characterization. Skelton evidently, and appropriately, intended for the part of Fancy to be taken by a very diminutive actor, probably a boy. Besides being a fool, Fancy is also a dwarf. The point is dwelt on with insistence. It is expressly intimated on Fancy's first entrance in scene 6, in the rebuke which Magnificence gives to his audacious interruption (ll. 288, 9):

> "Magn. What! I haue aspyed ye are a carles page.
> Fan. By God, Syr, ye se but fewe wyse men of myne age."

When Fancy announces that he has been made a knight, Counterfeit Countenance puns on his assumed name Largess as follows (ll. 522, 3):

> "A rebellyon agaynst Nature,—
> So large a man, and so lytell of stature!"

Again the contrast in size between the two fools is brought out at length on their meeting (ll. 1069–79):

"Fan. But, Broder Foly, I wonder moche of one thynge,
That thou so hye fro me doth sprynge,
And I so lytell alway styll.
Fol. By God, I can tell the; and I wyll:
Thou art so feble-fantastycall,
And so braynsyke therwithall,
And thy wyt wanderynge here and there,
That thou cannyst not growe out of thy boyes gere;
And as for me, I take but one folysshe way,
And therfore I growe more on one day
Than thou can in yerys seuen."

The other personages are apparently men of even more than ordinary size. Besides Folly, Cloaked Collusion (l. 607) has stolen a vestment or cope which proves noticeably too small for him, and Courtly Abusion is expressly called a "tawle man" (l. 821). Yet with only four actors, the same man would have had to enter as Crafty Conveyance, as Fancy, and as Measure within a little over two hundred lines (ll. 1400–1630), while a second would have changed with bewildering rapidity from Cloaked Collusion (l. 1798) to Fancy (l. 1842), and back to Cloaked Collusion again (l. 2160).[1]

On the other hand, with five actors the assignment of parts is simple and natural. Allowing one actor for the heaviest part, Magnificence, and one for the distinctive *rôle* of Fancy, it is comparatively easy to distribute the other characters to the remaining three actors. The scheme of distribution may have been as follows, the numbers referring to the scenes:

A. Felicity, 1–6; Cloaked Collusion, 10–13; Felicity, 20–22; Cloaked Collusion, 25 and 26; Adversity, 31; Cloaked Collusion, 36 and 37; Despair, 39 and 40; Redress, 42–45.

B. Liberty, 2–4; Counterfeit Countenance, 7–10; Courtly Abusion, 12–15; Folly, 17 and 18; Liberty, 20–22; Courtly Abusion, 24 and 25; Folly, 28 and 29; Liberty, 34; Counterfeit Countenance, 37; Mischief, 40; Circumspection, 44 and 45.

[1] A slight examination of the scenes here included will show that with but four actors we cannot escape this partition of the *rôle* of Fancy. At l. 1400 there are four present on the stage, and Crafty Conveyance goes out. The other three are still on when Fancy enters nine lines further down. For Crafty Conveyance to change into Fancy in nine lines would have been an unusual demand for Skelton, who had a supply of inexhaustible monologues, to make. But at l. 1400 Crafty Conveyance had been on continuously from l. 1158; and in ll. 1158–1326 had been engaging in a vigorous dialogue with this same Fancy. Again, in ll. 573–688 we have four interlocutors. Magnificence is absent during this part, and the actor of his *rôle* must here have taken the place of one of the four. But each of them is later brought face to face with Magnificence: cf. ll. 1374, 1514, 1842, 2197. In the other cases the necessity is not so evident at first glance, but it exists.

C. Measure, 3 and 4; Crafty Conveyance, 9 and 10, 13, 18–20; Measure, 25; Poverty, 32; Crafty Conveyance, 36 and 37; Good Hope, 41 and 42; Perseverance, 45.

D. Magnificence, 4–7, 20–45.

E. Fancy, 6 and 7, 9 and 10, 15–18, 22, 29 and 30.

We thus have to do with the normal interlude troupe of four men and a boy, who was probably serving as apprentice, which Chambers (II. 188) has shown was the rule at this period. The reason for keeping one actor always off the stage was perhaps to act as prompter (cf. Chambers, II. 140), an official much needed, no doubt, for the extended monologues and dialogues which form so notable a feature of Skelton's play. At l. 2150 it was also necessary for some one to slip around to the back of the audience to blow a horn (*Hic aliquis buccat in cornu a retro post populum*), and such duties would naturally have fallen to the member of the company who was off duty for the time. This important *rôle* behind the scenes would in the above scheme have been taken by D during Stage II, and by E during Stages IV and V; Stages I and III must have been shared between E and C.

This analysis of the distribution of parts in the play is worth making for the light which it throws on the construction, especially on the defects of construction, of *Magnificence*. These may be very largely traced to the hampering necessity of writing for an insufficient corps of actors. The tediousness which effectually conceals the really large amount of wit and the frequent achievement of dramatic effects, is nowhere more noticeable than in the second Stage, where the plotting scenes are dragged out to the disproportionate length of 972 lines, considerably more than a third of the whole. It can hardly be doubted that much of this was due to the necessity of bringing the plotters in one by one. The poet cannot be denied to have shown a fondness for his monologues, and he has put some of his best strokes into them; but the convenience of the intervals for the frequent costume changes must have reinforced this undramatic tendency. A glance at the table will show that in scenes 11, 16, 19, and 23 at least, the soliloquist on the stage was talking "against time," while one or more of his companions was busy in the dressing-room. Heywood has far exceeded Skelton in the length and gravity of these formidable speeches, without his excuse, since his characters do not usually exceed the number of his actors.

VI. Versification.

a. *The verse.* The principal verse of *Magnificence* is that which forms the staple of the drama up to and until long after its time, the rimed native long line of four stresses. This has been analyzed, with numerous examples from our play, by Schipper (*Altenglische Metrik*), Vol. I. Kap. 12: "Die vierhebige Langzeile im altenglischen Drama," pp. 226–242). His views about its character, and those of Luick (see especially *Anglia*, xii. 437 ff.) are substantially adopted in the present study. The line preserves traces of its earlier treatment in the abundant alliteration that it contains, but this has ceased to be a requisite and has become a rhetorical figure, which can be omitted or redoubled at will to secure different effects. The essential elements of the verse are the rime and the presence of four stresses. To these may be added the caesura after the second stress, dividing the line into two rhythmic halves of practically equivalent weight. In *Magnificence* the caesura is noticeably strong, and the halves naturally fall apart, more than in the miracle plays and earlier moralities. Skelton felt it as two short lines rather than one long one; he frequently divides it between two speakers, a habit which is responsible for some confusion in Dyce's numbering. This splitting of the line is in harmony with Skelton's partiality to the two-stress line in the play itself and still more in his other works. The number of unstressed syllables is extremely variable, but it averages considerably in excess of the number of stressed syllables. Thus the whole line has a range of from nine to fourteen syllables, and the rhythm is anapaestic or dactylic in character.

This scansion of the metres of the early dramas has not been universally accepted. The dictum of Schipper was accepted and applied by Swoboda to the scansion of Heywood's interludes (W. Swoboda, *John Heywood als Dramatiker:* Wien, 1888, pp. 83–107); but it has been contested by Brandl (*Quellen und Forschungen*, vol. 80) and Fischer (ed. of the *Four Elements*). Brandl (pp. xxxvii, lii, lx) regards the serious parts of *Nature* written in the Chaucerian stanza, all of Heywood's *Weather* and *Love*, and all of Bale's *God's Promises*, *John Baptist*, and *King John*, as well as other plays not specifically named, as written in the five-foot verse (loser Fünffüssler), and Fischer (p. 29) takes the same view with regard to that portion of the *Four Elements* in the Chaucerian stanza. *Nature* and Heywood's two plays had not specifically been included by Schipper in his list, but he does mention the *Four Elements* (I. 232), and in the *Grundriss* (pp. 101 ff.)

devotes considerable space to illustrating the use of the native four-stress line from *King John*. Although Brandl does not apply his theory to *Magnificence*, it would consistently extend to such parts as are written in the Chaucerian stanza. The technique of the whole group of plays is manifestly the same.

It is noteworthy that the attempts to read the passages specified as five-foot verse involves in each case severe depreciation of the poet's metrical ability. Of *Nature* Brandl says (p. xxxvii): ". . . der Rhythmus zwar Fünfhebigkeit deutlich durchschimmern lässt, aber in so loser Form, dass alle Freiheiten der me. Metrik nicht hinreichen, um die Verse einzurenken"; of Heywood's plays (p. liii): "Der Rhythmus ist zu lose und holperig, als dass ihm durch alle Mittel der Verschleifung und Synkope Regelmässigkeit abzugewinnen ware"; and Fischer's estimate of the author of the *Four Elements* (p. 37) is: "Der Verfasser unseres Interlude war ein sehr mittelmässiger Dichter, wie der übermässige und regellose Gebrauch aller möglichen metrischen Freiheiten zeigt." Such estimates of the authors of *Nature* and the *Four Elements*, whose primary interests were not in the form of their work, might be accepted, although the mediocre poet has generally been distinguished by monotonous regularity rather than "regellose Gebrauch aller möglichen metrischen Freiheiten." But Heywood, the professional court dramatist, and Skelton, the leading poet of his time, were probably able to turn out decent pentameters had they so desired. It is entirely possible that in using the Chaucerian stanza they thought that they were using also Chaucer's metre, for at this time Chaucer's lines were in all likelihood sometimes read as tumbling verse of four accents (see *Academy*, no. 1262, p. 28, letter by Mr. C. H. Herford). But it is depriving them of their just artistic due to scan their vigorous four-stress lines as lame pentameters.

Among the verses of *Magnificence*, it is true, we can find many that by themselves might well be scanned as regular verse. Since the unstressed syllables can occupy any position in the line, it naturally often happens that a line of ten or eleven syllables can be easily read as an iambic pentameter, one of twelve or thirteen as an alexandrine. But the number of lines which cannot thus be read, even by the aid of all possible metrical licences, forbid the assumption that any such metre was attempted. Thus in the opening stanza of *Magnificence*:

"Al thýng ys contrýuyd by mánnys Réason,—
The wórld, enuýronnyd of Hýgh and Low Estáte.
Be it érly or láte, Wélth hath a séason.

Wélth is of Wýsdome — the véry trewe probáte;
A fóle is he with Wélth — that fállyth at debáte.
But mén nowe a dáyes — so vnháppely be výryd,
That nóthynge than Wélth — may wórse be endúryd,"

the second and sixth lines would make easy alexandrines, the first, third, and seventh somewhat harsh pentameters. But the stanza as a whole cannot possibly have been intended for either form of regular metre. To attempt so to scan it would be to turn verse that of its kind is smooth and artistic into wretchedly mangled work.

The case is quite the same with the following stanzas, specifically classed by Brandl and Fischer as composed of five-foot lines:

Nature, ll. 1–7:

"Thalmýghty Gód, — that made éche creatúre
As wéll in héuen — as óther place erthlý,
By Hys wýse ordynaúnce — hath puruéyd me Natúre
To bé as mýnyster — vnder hym immédyatelý;
For thénchesón — that I shold perpétuallý
Hys créatúres — in súche degre mayntáyne
As ýt hath pléased — Hys gráce for theym to ordéyne.

Four Elements, ll. 22–28:

The Grékes, the Rómayns, — with mány other mó,
In their móder tónge [reálme — wrot wárkes excellént;
Than (qy. that?) yf clérkes in this — wold táke payn só,
Consýderyng that our tónge — is nów suffýcyént
To éxpoun ány — hard séntence evydént,
They mýght, yf they wólde, — in our Énglyshe tónge
Wryte wórkys of gravyté — somtýme amónge.

Weather, ll. 43–49:

How bé yt he allédgeth, — that of lónge tyme pást
Lýttell hath preuáyled — his gréat dylygéns;
Full óft vppon yérth — his fayre fróst he hath cást,
Áll thynges húrtfull — to bánysh out of preséns;
But Phébus, enténdynge — to képe hym in syléns,
Whén he hath lábored — all nýght in his pówres,
His glárynge beámys — maryth áll in two hówres.

Three or four lines in each stanza could be read at a pinch as pentameters. But the percentage of such lines is not nearly so high in the plays as it is in a classical later instance of the use of so-called tumbling verse,—the *August* eclogue in Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar*. Here, until the reader reaches the thirteenth line, he cannot be sure that he is not reading slightly harsh pentameters; and out of eighty-four non-lyrical

lines in the poem, there are but fourteen quite refractory to such a scansion. So many possible pentameters does the eclogue contain that Herford in his edition (*Shepheards Calender*, ed. C. H. Herford, London, 1897) speaks of it as in effect fluctuating "between the five-foot iambic and the four-stress verse." In the other two "tumbling" eclogues also, *February* and *May*, such lines occur often enough, though notably less often than in the *August* eclogue. They occur, in fact, whenever three syllables are introduced between any two of the four stresses. In his treatment of the tumbling rhythm, Herford (p. lxix) regards such an extension of the thesis as a blemish, and suggests, plausibly enough, that Spenser was influenced by a mistaken scansion of Chaucer's heroic verse as tumbling with four accents. But however closely Spenser may have imagined that he was imitating the metre of Chaucer, he was in fact within the prescriptive rights of the native verse when he preserved its freedom in the number of unstressed syllables. And with such freedom its frequent apparent coincidence with the five-foot iambic was mathematically certain.

Besides the long four-stress verse, and in contrast to it, *Magnificence* has a considerable amount of another verse of equally long standing in the drama,—the four-foot verse, identical with Chaucer's octosyllabic line or iambic tetrameter (cf. Schipper, I. Kap. 14: "Das viertaktige kurze Reimpaar in seiner weiteren Entwickelung und Verwendung," pp. 258–293). Even in Chaucer's hands the octosyllabic verse received much freer treatment than the decasyllabic. It frequently omitted at least the initial thesis, and on the other hand sometimes admitted expanded thesis of two syllables. These liberties were much increased in the popular treatment of the line in the drama of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. As used in *Magnificence*, it admits frequent and free omission of the thesis and expansion to two or three syllables. Naturally it draws near to the long four-stress line. The two are still distinguished by two marks. The four-foot line, taken in the mass, is distinctly shorter and lighter in effect than the four-stress line. The former normally should have an equal number of stressed and unstressed syllables, and usually approximates this requirement, its length ranging commonly from seven to ten syllables; while the latter is quite unrestricted by such a principle, and usually possesses, as stated above, from nine to fourteen syllables. The heavy line is also marked by its decided caesura in the middle, and pause at the end, whereas the light four-foot line frequently dispenses altogether with a caesura, and lends itself to run-on effects. It is evident that the lines might still be

distinguished by a careful writer, and also that they might be hopelessly confused. Skelton shows his ability to distinguish them by the contrast in rhythm which he has made between the first six scenes (ll. 1–324), where the more dignified characters Felicity, Measure, and Magnificence give the tone to the discourse, and the seventh scene (ll. 325–402), in which the volatile Fancy first begins to obtain the upper hand. Contrast the movement of the following two passages, the first a defence of measure by the counsellor Measure himself, the second, Fancy's attack on that cardinal virtue:

(ll. 114–120)

"Orácius to recórde, in his vólumys ólde,
With éuery condýcyon, Meásure must be soúght.
Wélthe without Meásure wolde bére hymselfe to bólde;
Lýberte without Meásure, próue a thynge of noúght.
I pónder by nómber; by Meásure all thynge is wroúght,
As at the fýrst orýgynall, by gódly opýnyon; [yon."
Whych prouyth wéll that Meásure shold have domýn-

(ll. 382–389) "Meá|sure is méte | for a már|chauntes háll,
But Lár|gesse becóm|eth a státe | ryáll.
What! shólde | you pýnche | at a pécke | of grótes,
Ye wólde | sone pýnche | at a pécke | of ótes.
Thús | is the tálk|ynge of óne | and of óder,
As mén | dare spéke | it húg|ger múgger:
'A lórde | a négarde, | it ís | a sháme';
But Lár|gesse máy | aménde | your náme."

A similar difference is made, with evident intent, between the descriptions which the formidable Despair and the malicious Mischief give of themselves in scenes 39 and 40:

(ll. 2284–2296)

"Dyspáre is my náme, that Aduérsyte dothe fólowe.
In týme of Dystrésse I am rédy at hánde;
I make héuy hértys, with éyen full hólowe.
Of fáruent Cháryte I quénche out the brónde;
Fáythe and Góod Hope I make asýde to stónde.
In Góddys Mercy, I téll them, is but Fóly to trúste;
All Gráce and Pýte I láy in the dúste.

What! lýest thou there lýngrynge, léwdly and lóthsome?
It is tó late nówe thy sýnnys to repént.
Thou hást bene so wáywarde, so wránglyng, and so wróthsome,
And so fér thou árte behýnde of thy rént,
And so vngrácyouslý thy dáyes thou hast spént,
That thou árte not wórthy to loke Gód in the fáce."

(ll. 2309–2316): "And í, | Myschéfe, | am cóm|yn at néde,
Oút of | thy lýfe | the fór | to léde;
Ánd | loke thát | it bé | not lónge
Ór | that thý | selfe thóu | go hónge
With | this hál|ter góód | and stránge;
Or éllys | with this knýfe | cut oút | a tónge
Of thy thróte | bole, and rýd | the oút | of páyne:
Thou arte nót | the fýrst | hymsélfe | hath sláyne."

In such passages the two measures are as distinct as could be wished, and have little more in common than that each contains four stresses. But the distinction is by no means everywhere so carefully preserved. In the monologue of Counterfeit Countenance in scene 8 (ll. 403–493), the first seventy lines are clearly in the lighter measure, although some of them contain a high number of unstressed syllables; but with line 466, the verse is suddenly expanded to unmistakable four-stress, with marked caesura, and so continues from there to the end of the monologue.

452. "What! wólde | ye wýues | coúnt|erfét
The coúrt|ly gýse | of thé | newe iét?
462. To coúnt|erfét | she wýll | assáy
Áll | the néwe | gyse, frésshe | and gáye,
And bé | as prá|ty ás | she máy,
And iét | it ió|ly ás | a iáy.

466. "Coúnterfet préchynge, and byléue the contrarý;
Coúnterfet cónscyence, péuysshe pope holý;
Coúnterfet sádnesse, with délynge full madlý;" etc.

We have more serious confusion in the scenes of rapid dialogue between the vices, which Skelton draws out to astonishing length. Here it is impossible definitely to classify the verse under either head, and sometimes to be sure that it is verse at all. As a rule, the lines are comparatively light, and most passages that are at all extended belong clearly with the four-foot verse; but in passages of rapid stichomythy lines of extraordinary length as well as of extraordinary brevity occur, and the greatest facility is shown in dividing the lines in half. It is here that most of the lines divided between two speakers are found. Two examples will show the extreme freedom of the versification of these scenes, where the only rule adhered to is that of four stresses to the line, and even these often presuppose vigorous acting to bring them out.

(ll. 516–523):

"Cou. Cou. But I say, képest thou the ólde name stýll that thou hád?
Cra. Con. Why, wényst thou, hórson, that í were so mád?

FAN. Nay, nay; hé hath chaunged hís, and Í haue chaunged mýne.
COU. COU. Nowe whát is hís name? and whát is thýne?
FAN. In fáythe, Lárgesse Í hýght;
Ánd I am máde a knýght.
COU. COU. Á rebéllyon agáynst Náture,—
So lárge a mán, and so lýtell of státure!"

(ll. 2251–2258):

"MAGN. Nowe gýue me sómwhat, for Gód sake, I cráue!
CRA. CON. In fáythe, Í gyue the four quárters of a knáue.
COU. COU. In fáythe, and Í bequethe hym the tóthe áke.
CLO. COL. And I bequéthe hym the bóne áke.
CRA. CON. And Í bequéthe hym the gówte and the gýn.
CLO. COL. And Í bequéthe hym sórowe for his sýn.
COU. COU. And I gýue hym Crýstys cúrse,
With néuer a pény ín his púrse."

In dramatic colour these verses are to be classed with the light four-foot line; in reality they probably exhibit the consummation of that process of assimilation which had been going on between the four-stress and the four-foot line for the past century.

But the distinction had by no means faded out in Skelton's day, nor, indeed, till long afterward. It is precisely this distinction that Brandl notes in *Nature* between the virtue-scenes and vice-scenes, and calls a distinction between five-foot and four-stress metre. Both are in reality verse of four accents; and the former, as has been illustrated in the passage quoted above, is the old native heavy line. With it may be contrasted a stanza (for *Nature* gives examples of both in rime-royal) of the lighter line (ll. 1163–9):

"SENSUALITY. For whán | they faúght | I rán | bytwéne,
And crýed, | 'Kepe péce | and léue | debáte';
But yé | wold háue | laughed hád | ye séne
How Í | depárted theym, ánd | for all thát
Sometýme | I cláp|ped Reá|son on the páte,
And crýed, | 'Kepe the péce,' | as fást | as I coúde,
Tyll Í | was hórse, | I crýed | so loúde."

In the *Four Elements* the vice-scenes are distinguished by use of the tail-rimed stanza, with lines of four and three accents. The four-accent lines again illustrate the light line. Compare with the passage given above ll. 427–32:

"SENSUAL APPETITE. For rá|ther than I | wolde úse | suche fóly
To práy, | to stú|dy, or bé | pope-hóly,
I hád | as lýf | be déd;

By Góg|gys bó|dy I téll | you tréw,
I spéke | as I thýnke, | now éls | I beshréw
Evyn mý | next fél|owes héd."

The effect of such verse, in the mass, is clearly distinct, and quite unlike that of the heavy lines quoted above; and yet single lines might often be transferred from one to the other. One falls as a rule short of pentameter length, just as much as the other generally exceeds it. Yet it is to be noted that each of the two stanzas just quoted has one line that could by itself be scanned as a pentameter.

It is unnecessary further to illustrate the light line from Heywood's briefer interludes, *Johan Johan*, the *Four P's*, etc., which are entirely composed in it. But it is of interest to find that the two contrasting types of four-stress verse remained distinguishable till long after the reign of regular verse had begun. The few poems of Wyatt usually characterized as tumbling verse seem to be specimens of the popularized octosyllable; whereas *Tottel's Miscellany* preserves some samples of the true old native line, or the heavy tumbling verse. A few lines from each, put side by side, give precisely the contrast utilized by the moralities.

Wyatt (*Aldine ed.*, p. 147):

"I ám | as I ám, | and só | will I bé;
But hów | that I ám, | none knów|eth trulý.
Be it é|vil, be it wéll, | be I bónd, | be I frée,
I ám | as I ám, | and só | will I bé.
. . . . . .
But hów | that ís | I leáve | to yóu;
Júdge | as ye líst, | fálse | or trûe,
Ye knów | no móre | than afóre | ye knéw,
Yet I ám | as I ám, | whaté|ver ensúe."

Tottel's Miscellany (*Arber Reprints*, p. 179):

"Crûell and vnkínd, whom mércy cannot móue,
Hérbour of vnháppe, where rígours rage doth raígne,
The groúnd of my griéfe, where pítie cannot próue:
To tíckle to trúst, of all vntrúth the traíne,
Thou rígorous rócke that rúth cannot remóue."

If this early and persistent differentiation of tumbling verse into two varieties, the heavy and the light, be admitted as valid, we have, furthermore, an explanation ready to hand of the striking differences between Spenser's three eclogues. The *February* eclogue has not among its lines quite 10% that can possibly be read as five-foot iambics; the *May* eclogue has about 43%; and the *August* eclogue, as we have noted above, has in its non-lyrical parts 83%. This affords a rough test of the

comparative weight of the verse; a better showing is made by quoting a short passage, arranged like those above, from the two extremes.

February, ll. 85–93:

"Cúddie, | I wóte | thou kénst | little góod,
So váine|ly tadváunce | thy héad|lesse hóod;
For youngth | is a búb|ble blown úp | with bréath,
Whose wítt | is wéake|nesse, whose wáge | is déath,
Whose wáy | is wíld|ernesse, whose ýnne | Penáunce,
And stóope-|gallaunt Áge, | the hóste | of Greeváunce.
But shall | I tél | thee a tále | of trúth,
Which I cónd | of Tít|yrus ín | my yóuth,
Kéeping | his shéepe | on the híls | of Ként?"

August, ll. 25–30:

"Then lóe, Périgot, the Plédge which I plíght,
A mázer ywroúght of the Máple wárre,
Whereín is enchásed mány a fayre síght
Of Béres and Týgres, that máken fiers wárre;
And óver them spréd a góodly wild víne,
Entráiled with a wánton Yvie twíne."

The first is a rude descendant of the metre of the *Hous of Fame*, with much of the looseness and licence of a century of popular use; the second, which perhaps Spenser fancied a copy of the metre of the *Canterbury Tales*, is actually a descendant of the rhythm of *Piers Plowman*, considerably assimilated in external dress to the ways of regular verse, and further polished by a succession of "learned" poets, from Skelton to Spenser himself. The two types were on the point of coalescing. It is impossible to say to which the *May* eclogue belongs; and the tumbling verse that succeeded was the final blending of the two. In the period of Skelton, the limits of which have for the moment been exceeded in order to fix a neglected distinction, the process of blending had already begun; but it could easily be suspended by any careful poet.

If the greater part of the verse of *Magnificence* is indeed descended from the old alliterative verse of *Piers Plowman*, we shall naturally expect to find traces of the alliteration formerly essential to it. The light line, on the other hand, having sprung from regular verse, has no ancestral right to much alliteration. This we find actually to be in general the state of things. The play as a whole is extraordinarily alliterative, a fact exemplified in the names of some of the characters. The comparatively brief passages in the light line have some alliterative lines, but distinctly fewer than the rest of the play. But the heavy line is far from being uniformly alliterative. What was once a characteristic

has become a tradition, and like an organ that has lost its first office, has either vanished or, where kept, has been adapted to a new use. In passages designed to be specially impressive, like the epilogue of the play, a double quantity of alliteration is used along with the similar device of the refrain. A more intelligible use of alliteration, and one that has many parallels in the other plays, is to heighten the effect in speeches of empty boasting. No part of *Magnificence* is so alliterative as scene 23, the hero's monologue on the crest of his fancied prosperity; 36 of its 58 lines, or 62%, alliterate. Slightly different is the effect in scene 28, where alliteration appropriately marks almost every one of Folly's impromptu nonsense verses.

Of course no trace of any regulation as to the number or position of the alliterating syllables remains. All possible combinations can be freely illustrated. So we have with four alliterating syllables:

1471. "For I am prynce perless, prouyd of porte."
1506. "What man is so maysyd with me that dare mete,
I shall flappe hym as a fole to fall at my fete."
2291. "What! lyest thou there lyngrynge, lewdly and lothsome?"
1010 (light line). "Somtyme to sober, somtyme to sadde,"

with three of the four stressed syllables alliterating:

46. "For Lyberte at large is lothe to be stoppyd."
295. "Though Largesse ye hyght, your langage is to large."
1477. "I am the dyamounde dowtlesse of dygnyte,
Surely it is I that all may saue and spyll."
382 (light line). "Measure is mete for a marchauntes hall"—

and finally with any two-stressed syllables alliterating; the most frequent form of all, contrary to the ancient rule, being for the first two or the last two to alliterate:

4. "Welth is of Wysdome the very trewe probate."
2451. "Remembre you, therfore, howe late ye were low."

In view of its general vagueness, the fading distinction between the heavy and light line, after all, was at best a somewhat unreliable tool. It was natural that an attempt should be made to fashion a new one. This was found in the introduction of the half-line (Schipper, I. 238–242). Though not the inventor of the half-line, as Schipper has pointed out, Skelton was extremely fond of it, and made it his own by the vigor with which he used it. He had already made extended use of it in *Philip Sparrow*; and it afterwards became the chosen metre for his satires. But

its origin can nowhere be studied better than in *Magnificence.* Since the four-stress line so regularly broke in half, it was a natural step to mark the division by internal rime, which left the rhythm unchanged. The step is shown in the taking in a passage in scene 3. Measure enters, and the two disputants appeal to him simultaneously. The effect of two trying to speak at once is conveyed aptly by the full line passing into the rimed half-lines (81–91):

"*Hic intrat* Measure.

MEA. Crýst you assýste in your áltrycácyon!
FEL. Why, haue you hárde of our dýsputácyon?
MEA. I parcéyue wéll howe éche of you doth reáson.
LYB. Máyster Meásure, you be cóme in good séason.
MEA. And it is wónder that your wýlde Insolénce
Cán be contént with Meásure presénce
FEL. Wolde it pleáse you thén—
LYB. Vs to infórme and kén—
MEA. A! ye be wónders mén!
Your lángage is lyke the pénne
Of hym that wryteth to fást."

The line here developed, as half of the heavy or four-stress line, may be called the two-stress line, or the heavy half-line. It shows an unrestricted number of unstressed syllables, running from five to eight syllables to the line, and commonly having a distinct pause at the end. We also find a half-line in connection with the light or four-foot line, which we may call the two-foot line, or light half-line. It is much more restricted, with usually but four, occasionally five or six syllables, and shows a large percentage of run-on lines. Its origin and character are illustrated in the following quotation from scene 14, the monologue of Courtly Abusion.

(ll. 825–834):

"Nay, purcháce | ye a pár|don fór | the póse;
For Prýde | hath plúcked | the bý | the nóse
As wéll | as mé; | I wólde, | and I dúrste,—
But nówe | I wýll | not sáy | the wórste.
What nówe? | Let sé
Who ló|keth on mé
Well róunde | aboúte,
Howe gáy | and howe stóute
That I | can wére
Cóurtly | my gére:" etc.

The distinction between the light and heavy half-lines, however, is not maintained in other passages, any more than the distinction between

the light and heavy full lines. It was, indeed, even more difficult to preserve, since it rested solely in the number of syllables. In the monologue cited above, the light two-foot line has been preserved with fair rigidity for ninety lines; but the succeeding monologue of Fancy (ll. 968–1043), of which thirty-six lines are half-lines, is as variable as its speaker.

To sum up, we have two perfectly distinct kinds of line in the play, one of four and one of two accents; each of these falling into two imperfectly distinguished species; giving as a result what we may call the heavy full line, or simply the heavy line, with nine to thirteen syllables; the light line, with seven to ten syllables; the heavy half-line, with five to eight syllables; and the light half-line, with three to six syllables. The four form a descending scale in point of weight and dignity. But the variability to which all of them are subject makes the contrasts thus secured, except that between the four-accent and the two-accent line, too imperfect and vague to be effective. Skelton reinforced them by a harmonious variation in the rime-schemes.

b. *Rime-schemes.* Three principal rime-schemes are employed in *Magnificence:* the Chaucerian seven-line stanza or rime royal, the couplet, and the repeated rime or "leash." These form a second descending scale.

Of the three metrical schemes the most original is the third. The exact form which Skelton uses does not appear in the drama before *Magnificence.* Schipper (I. 241) considers it a development from the tail-rime strophe, whose function in the preceding moralities it nearly supplies. His theory is strengthened by the term with which Skelton characterizes it on its introduction. He makes Counterfeit Countenance say, just before launching into his long monologue couched in this rime-scheme (ll. 407–409):

> "But nowe wyll I, that they be gone,
> In bastarde ryme, after the dogrell gyse,
> Tell you where of my name dothe ryse;"

and the name "dogrell" seems like a reminiscence of Chaucer's application of the same term to the tail-rimed strophes of *Sir Thopas.* On the other hand, the leash as found in *Magnificence* has features which connect it with both the rime-royal and the couplet. As used in the monologue of Counterfeit Countenance, it consists always of just seven lines, suggesting an adaptation from the rime-royal by using one rime instead of three. In the scenes in couplets, moreover, the effect of the leash is frequently given by extending the rime to three, four, or five lines, and such licences may easily have suggested the more constant employment of repeated

rimes. The origin of the scheme may have been in any one of these three sources, or all of them.

The rime-royal, Skelton's most formal metrical scheme, is at one place given a special artificiality by the use of the refrain. This is in the epilogue (ll. 2505–2560). The four personages on the stage turn frankly to the audience, and each points the moral in two stanzas bound together by identity of the final couplet. The refrain is a favorite device of Skelton's. He uses it in much the same way in the first and second poems *Against Garnesche* (Dyce I. 116, 118), and in several passages of the *Garland of Laurel* (Dyce I. 361, ll. 330 ff., 836 ff.); and other forms are found in many poems (Dyce I. 1, 27, 77, 139, 163; II. 22, 337).

To these three main rime-schemes must be added the isolated occurrence of two others. At l. 2064, a song is inserted consisting of a single fourteen-line stanza, in light four-foot lines, and rimed (aaaaaabccccccb) like the tail-rimed strophes (*rime couée*) so abundant in the earlier moralities and miracle plays. And at l. 1155 is a single couplet which seems a humorous experiment in the hexameter, interesting in view of the serious attempts inspired fifty years later by the Renaissance in its full tide. It is macaronic, but differs from the macaronic verse indulged in so freely elsewhere by Skelton, particularly in *Philip Sparrow* and *Speak Parrot*, in that elsewhere he inserts scraps of Latin and Greek into English rhythm, whereas in this burlesque of an old school exercise English words are used to piece out a Latin line.

By combining his different rime-schemes with his different lines, Skelton secures a surprising variety of verse-forms. The three principal rime-schemes are each combined both with the four-accent and with the two-accent lines, giving six distinct measures,—or eight if we include the two sporadic forms mentioned above. Further, the distinction of heavy and light lines and half-lines subdivides four of the six, though these varieties, as we have seen, are not everywhere perfectly differentiated. These eight different measures (though not their subdivisions) are indicated in this edition in the margin wherever they occur. It may be convenient to give here a complete list with the occurrences of each:

A. Four-accent lines.

1. Rime royal, with heavy line (light four-foot line not found).

(Stage I. ll. 1–28, 41–54, 67–80, 114–324; stage II. ll. 689–744, 1327–1374; stage III. ll. 1375–1514, 1797–1803; stage IV. ll. 2048–2063, 2153–2159, 2277–2308; stage V. ll. 2419–2567.)

2. Couplet (*a*) with heavy line.
(Stage I. ll. 29–40, 81–86; stage III. ll. 1515–1796, 1841–1874; stage IV. ll. 1875–2047, 2078–2152; stage V. ll. 2325–2418.)

(*b*) with light line.
(Stage I. ll. 325–402; stage II. ll. 403–409, 825–828, 1008–1043; stage IV. ll. 2309–2316.)

(*c*) with mixed and anomalous lines.
(Stage II. ll. 494–688, 745–824, 917–971, 1044–1326; stage IV. ll. 2160–2276, 2317–2324.)

3. Leash (*a*) with heavy line (Stage II. ll. 466–493; stage III. ll. 1804–1840.)

(*b*) with light line (Stage II. ll. 410–465).

4. Tail-rimed stanza, with light line (ll. 2064–2077).

B. Two-accent lines.

5. Rime royal, with light half-line (heavy half-line not found) (ll. 835–916).

6. Couplet (*a*) heavy (ll. 55–66).
(*b*) light (ll. 829–834).

7. Leash (*a*) heavy (ll. 87–113).
(*b*) light (ll. 972–1007).

C. Anomalous. 8. Macaronic hexameter (ll. 1155, 1156).

In the following out of his varied rime-schemes Skelton has fallen into many irregularities. A number of these may be due to the faulty transcription, but others must be attributed to the author's carelessness. In the rime-royal stanzas, superfluous lines, like the extra line (ababbbcc) at the beginning of a new scene (ll. 247–254), must have been due to a slip of the poet's; at ll. 2062, 3 and 2298, 9 we seem to have a superfluous final couplet. The two lines 2307, 8 are the beginning of a stanza the rest of which may have been lost; the whole passage seems mutilated. The same is true of ll. 2461–2470: ll. 2461–3 are the first three lines of one stanza, ll. 2466–70 perhaps the last five of another, and the intervening two lines are unconnected by rime or meaning. A line is missing in each of the two stanzas at ll. 1334–9 and ll. 2492–7.

The couplets are treated much more freely than the stanzas. Very often a rime is repeated for a third, a fourth, or even a fifth successive line, thus giving, as has been noted above, the effect of the leash. Examples are as follows: triplets, ll. 557–9, 748–50 (*vous* : lowce

dawce = douce?), 939–41, 1148–50, 1875–7; four lines, *passim* (hardly an irregularity); five lines, 624–8. There also occur a number of single unrimed lines among the couplets: ll. 552, 745, 779, 1117, 1179, 2082, 2250, 2276. Dyce conjectures in most of these cases that a line has fallen out; in view of their number it seems unlikely. Most of these irregularities occur in those passages where the construction of the line is also anomalous (cf. table above). Corruption of the text, however, does without doubt account for many other apparent irregularities in the riming, as for instance a single unrimed line in the middle of a stanza, or two adjoining unrimed lines among couplets. In most of these cases, which are treated in the notes at the foot of the page, there is an evident remedy in a transposition of words or an easy substitution.

Skelton's rimes are notably pure, especially when compared with earlier and later dramatists, and betray the conscience of a professional poet. Most rimes of his that would be imperfect to-day find their justification in the rapid changes that were going on in English vowel-sounds at the beginning of the sixteenth century. In one case, at least, he was too conservative to admit a rime which has since become good, and which even then was employed by most of his contemporaries. The old Chaucerian distinction between the suffixes -ly and -ty (from the French -té) is never neglected in the play, although words with these endings are among the most common in its rimes. In the stanza ll. 2048–54, the two rimes occur side by side without confusion (a-Destyny, b-Cruelte, a-Mysere, b-Pouerte, b-Aduersyte). In one case (l. 479) we have "flye" rimed with words in -te; but the common confusion between the verbs "fly" and "flee" probably accounts for this. There are extremely few cases of impure rimes as far as consonants are concerned (see the list given in the note to l. 727), and most of these will yield to emendation. Phonetic justification can be made for such rimes as ferther : murder (2317, 18), conuayed : dysceyued (534, 5; see note), and the like.

Magnificence deserves on the whole a high place among moralities for care and attention to metrical details. Compared with such extremely negligent pieces as *Mundus et Infans* and *Everyman*, indeed, it seems a model.

c. *Use made of metrical variations.* Clearly the remarkably varied and somewhat complicated assortment of verse-forms in *Magnificence* could not have been invented without a purpose. The possession of so rich a scale of metrical variations, far richer than any other morality can boast, gave Skelton the opportunity of making subtle and effective dis-

tinctions in characterizing the tone of different scenes and characters; and the studied care with which this is done is perhaps the play's best title to be considered a work of conscious art. We cannot be sure everywhere of the poet's intention in choosing a certain verse form for a particular use, but we can maintain that each of his verse-forms was chosen for a definite dramatic effect. In most cases his object is quite evident. The method he employs can be best presented by first characterizing the different forms, and then analyzing the metrical plan on which each division of the play seems to be built.

Skelton had in his possession two descending scales, one of line, the other of rime-scheme. The distinction between the heavy and light line, as we have seen, is used everywhere in the moralities to mark off the dignified seriousness of virtuous scenes and characters from the frivolity and vivacity of the vices. This distinction is preserved by Skelton, but he adds to it the further distinction between full line and half-line. The half-line is one grade below the light full line in dignity. Supplementing these somewhat fluctuating contrasts is the more definite scale afforded by the three principal rime-schemes. The rime royal, true to its literary associations, is the most stately and formal. It is preferred for serious and pathetic passages, and gives a conventional dignity to the beginning and ending. It is, however, evidently felt as too stiff for the freedom of dramatic composition. Consequently it is superseded, in some passages where we might have expected it, by the couplet. The couplet gives the proper tone for intermediate passages, and is primarily the form for rapid dialogue. It has spread, however, beyond these confines into territory which we might have expected to find above it, in the domain of the rime royal, or below it, in the domain of the leash or the "Skeltonical" half-line. It has gone far to becoming with Skelton what it afterwards became, the common form of dramatic verse, used wherever no special reason exists for the choice of some other form. The leash is at the opposite pole from the dignified rime royal. It is consistently placed in the mouths of the most comic and, from the morality point of view, most degraded characters,—Counterfeit Countenance, Fancy, Folly,—and accentuates the humor of the broadest scenes.

The combination of the two scales gives the eight or, counting the subdivisions, the thirteen different metrical forms listed above. They are arranged below in approximately descending order of weight with an attempted characterization of the specific coloring of each.

1. Rime royal with heavy line. This stands at the top of Skelton's spectrum; it connotes formality (scenes 1, 45), wisdom and uprightness

(scenes 3, 44), innocence and prosperity (scenes 4, 23, 44, 45), tragic pathos (scenes 33, 35, 38), and occasionally in the mouth of vices, mock-seriousness or pretended dignity (scenes 11, 19, 39).

2. Couplet with (a) heavy, (b) light, (c) anomalous lines. The heavy-line couplet is essentially the intermediate form: it is used by characters who are not strictly to be classed as either vices or virtues, as Felicity and Liberty (scenes 2, 34), Adversity and Poverty (scenes 31, 32); and in scenes where the hero is either sinking (24–26) or rising (scenes 41–43) without having reached a climax either way. The light couplet, on the other hand, is confined to vices, and particularly to the volatile buffoons Fancy (scenes 7, 16) and Folly (parts of scene 18). The mixed and anomalous-line couplet is the reigning measure for the vice-scenes, except for the monologues; it finds its natural place in the prolonged scenes of debate and mutual abuse (scenes 9, 10, 12, 13, 15, 17, 18, 36, 37), in which Skelton unfortunately delights, and it lends itself well enough to the short cut-and-thrust speeches of these passages.

3. Leash with (a) heavy, (b) light line. This is especially devoted to Counterfeit Countenance, the typical vulgar upstart, whose monologue (scene 8) is divided between the light and heavy forms, and to Folly in the scene where Magnificence reaches the depth of his infatuation just before his downfall (scene 28). Folly's nonsense rimes in this scene are strikingly similar in rhythm as well as content to the modern Mother Goose.

4. Tail-rimed stanza. The use of this stanza for the single lyrical passage of the play, the ribald song sung by Liberty (scene 34), is the sole survival in *Magnificence* of the "Schweifreimstrophe," the reigning form for the vice-scenes in many of the other moralities. As used here it has an unusual number of repetitions of the rimes (aaaaaabccccccb), and presents an intermediate form that might well, according to Schipper's theory, have given rise to the leash, which to a large extent supplants its office in this play.

5. Half-line rime royal. The half-line must have arisen from the full line by the introduction of internal rime, and accordingly must at first have been written in couplets. The fact that Skelton applies to it all the various rime-schemes of the full line shows that it had become to him an independent metrical unit. The combination of the light half-line with the aristocratic Chaucerian stanza is found only in the monologue of Courtly Abusion (scene 14),—a happy invention of the poet's to characterize the typical court dandy and rake, at the same time one of the most frivolous and the most aristocratic of the vices.

6. Half-line couplet (a) heavy, (b) light.

This is found only in two brief passages: for a few lines of vigorous dialogue (scene 2) in the *débat* between Liberty and Felicity, the first occurrence of the half-line in the play; and in transition at the beginning of Courtly Abusion's monologue (scene 14).

7. Half-line leash (a) heavy, (b) light.

This verse-form is the one used so extensively by Skelton in other poems, and called after him "Skeltonical." In *Magnificence* it occurs only twice: in the opening *débat* (scene 3) at a point still more animated than that of the half-line couplet; and in a prolonged passage for the first half of Fancy's monologue (scene 16). The shortest of Skelton's lines is thus combined with the "dogrell" rime-scheme to characterize the "frantick" Fancy.

8. Macaronic hexameter (scene 17). Used as an element in the burlesque parody and horse-play of the fools' dialogue.

These various forms are not used without relation to each other. On the contrary, each of the five stages is constructed on an easily recognizable metrical plan, and the analysis of these plans throws an interesting light on the architecture of the play itself. Each stage differs more or less from every other.

Stage I has two distinct objects, to expound the issue at stake, and to present the hero in his first estate of innocence, surrounded on one side by good, on the other by evil counsellors. After the first scene, in which Felicity speaks a sort of prologue in formal stanzas, two scenes are devoted to the former object. The issue is unfolded by means of a *débat*, which is begun by Felicity and Liberty, the representatives of the two opposing ideals, and completed by Measure, who brings victory to the side of Felicity. The metrical structure of this *débat* is intricate, and presents an interesting if somewhat distant analogy to the complex metrical arrangement in the Greek drama of the agon of an Aristophanic comedy (cf. Zielinski, *Die Gliederung der altattischen Komoedie*, Leipzig, 1885; M. W. Humphries, "The Agon of the Old Comedy," *Am. Jour. of Phil.*, viii. 179). Skelton has distinguished the formal statement that each speaker makes of his position from the intervening stichomathy, and has further varied this intervening repartee in a way that seems to indicate degrees of liveliness. The arrangement in the two scenes can best be given by the following plan:

Lines 29–40.—Couplets (full line).	Discussion.
„ 41–54.—Two stanzas.	Felicity states his position.
„ 55–66.—Couplets (half-line).	Discussion (livelier).

Lines 67 – 80.—Two stanzas.	Liberty states his position.
,, 81 – 86.—Couplets (full line).	Discussion (as Measure enters).
,, 87–113.—Leash (half-line).	Discussion (becoming exasperated).
,, 114–127.—Two stanzas.	Measure states his position.
,, 128–162.—Five stanzas.	Agreement in Measure's favour.

In scenes 4–7, which accomplish the second object of the initial stage, the metrical structure is less complex, and consists simply of a contrast between scenes 4, 5, and 6 in rime royal, and scene 7 in the light couplet. In scenes 4 and 5, Magnificence is presented as both wise and wealthy, cleaving to Measure's counsel and deciding against Liberty; in scene 6, Fancy the vice enters but makes until the end no headway, hence the stanzas are appropriately continued; but in scene 7, where he secures the prince's ear and begins to seduce his judgment, the shift of power is neatly mirrored in the change of both line and rime-scheme.

Stage II, the longest of the five, is built up on an entirely different principle. It is devoted to the vices proper, and during its twelve scenes only these six characters appear on the stage. Metrically, the scenes divide themselves into those of dialogue and those of monologue. The scenes of dialogue, participated in by two, three, or four characters (scenes 9, 10, 12, 13, 15, 17, 18), are all in that specially irregular form of the couplet which I have called anomalous. Against this monotonous background the five monologues stand out in striking metrical diversity. There is one for each vice, with the exception of Folly; and it is not an over-refinement to see in the various forms chosen a reflection of the characters of the speakers. The Stage begins with the monologue of Counterfeit Countenance (scene 8) in the leash, the lowest of the three rime-schemes; and the choice strikes the keynote of the whole section, and stigmatizes Counterfeit Countenance, the typical social upstart, as the special object of Skelton's contempt. For the next monologue, that of Cloaked Collusion (scene 11), as well as for that of Crafty Conveyance (scene 19), the rime royal is used,—a rather bold way of characterizing these two "heavy villains" of the play. Cloaked Collusion, *alias* Sober Sadness, who is disguised as a priest, and Crafty Conveyance, *alias* Sure Surveyance, who is the typical hypocrite, are grave and reverend personages outwardly, and quite unlike the dandy Courtly Abusion or the frivolous Fancy. These last two have equally appropriate forms, the former (scene 14) with the half-line rime royal, the latter (scene 16) with the half-line leash and couplet, schemes the connotation of which has already been commented on. A curious feature of both monologues, as well as of that of Counterfeit Countenance, appears in the little head-

pieces, in different metre from the rest of the scene, and apparently intended as a sort of transition. The light-line couplet is used for them, and Courtly Abusion has also, after four lines of this (ll. 825–8), six lines of half-line couplets (ll. 829–34), before he begins his stanzas.

The reason why Folly alone has no monologue becomes clear when we examine the latter part of scene 18. The lengthy tirades in which he indulges there supply the missing place, and it is not difficult to see why they require an audience. They consist of a succession of personal hits at Wolsey and others, and the comments of his listeners (ll. 1253–6, 1277, 8) are needed to point out unmistakably the personal application.

In Stage III, the Delusion, the metrical scheme is again comparatively intricate. Magnificence's degradation is portrayed by passing from the rime royal to the (heavy) couplet and from the couplet to the leash. The first four scenes after the prince's return (scenes 20–23) are put into the dignified stanzas. He has not yet surrendered his Felicity, and, indeed, he is apparently at the height of his prosperity. His own complacency reaches a climax in his boastful monologue in scene 23. Immediately after it the metre changes to the couplet, as Courtly Abusion enters to begin the final and fatal temptation. During scenes 24, 25, and 26, the outcome is in doubt, and Measure makes a last effort to obtain his recall; but finally Cloaked Collusion obtains the coveted control of the prince's wealth and departs to complete his destruction. These three scenes have been in the couplet; but next (scene 27), by an artistic stroke, Skelton puts into the prince's mouth another rime-royal stanza that reads like a continuation of his bombastic monologue. Then Folly enters, mockingly completing the stanza for him, and launches forth (scene 28) into a string of buffoonery and gibberish composed in the leash. In his words and appropriate rhythm is suggested the lowest depth of the prince's folly. The Stage ends with two premonitory scenes (29 and 30), which return to the couplet.

Stage IV, which portrays the overthrow and increasing misery of Magnificence, shows an equal number of effects secured with fewer means. The metrical groundwork of the Stage is the couplet. The heavy-line couplet is used for the intermediate figures Adversity, Poverty, Liberty (scenes 31, 32, 34), and the anomalous-line couplet of Stage II reappears with the vices in scenes 36 and 37. Whenever left to himself, Magnificence breaks out into a brief monologue of lamentation consisting of one or two rime-royal stanzas (scenes 33, 35, and 38). The climax of his misery comes with the arrival of Despair and Mischief in the last two scenes; and these two diabolic figures are effectively discriminated, as we

have already seen, by assigning the heavy rime royal to Despair (scene 39) and the frivolous light couplet to Mischief. In the hurried close of the scene we have some couplets of anomalous length.

Stage V is comparatively simple in its metrical scheme. It reverses the direction of Stage III and mirrors Magnificence's rise in fortune by rising from the couplet to the rime royal. The first three scenes (41–43) are in the heavy-line couplet; when the old counsellor Circumspection enters (scene 44), the metre changes to rime royal, which continues in the last scene. The epilogue in eight coupled stanzas (ll. 2505–2560) has the special formality of the refrain, but at the very end (ll. 2561–7) comes a simple stanza to complete the story.

VII. Sources.

The primary source of *Magnificence* is to be sought in the other moral plays that precede it. Its relation to these, however, forms the subject for the second part of this introduction; and only the secondary sources will be discussed in this section. In the case of *Magnificence*, the secondary sources are unusually important. The form of Skelton's moral play is substantially the same as that of the *Castle of Perseverance*, written nearly a century before, and of almost every other moral play which is extant from that date to its own; but its theme is an absolutely novel one for the morality department. For the first time, the morality was devoted to giving advice for this world instead of for the next; it was only a step till it should cease to give advice altogether. The theme of every morality that preceded *Magnificence* was the salvation of the soul, that of *Magnificence* is the preservation of worldly prosperity. The basis of the play, accordingly, is no longer a theological but a philosophical allegory.

The radical change in theme is connected with a change in the public to whom the advice is directed. This change is first of all indicated by the specialization which the hero has undergone. He is no longer the typical man, but the typical prince; and it is, ostensibly at least, to the somewhat restricted public of royalty that the lesson of the play is addressed. But the lesson of prudence for the prince is accompanied by a vast deal of satire directed at, if not to, the prince's court. *Magnificence* was not the first moral play to indulge in social satire, which forms the strength of *Hickscorner*, or even political satire, which is the impelling purpose of *Wisdom;* but it was the first to satirize the follies of the court, and the first to direct satire at particular parties and actual persons. For

this element also, which the play pushes into the foreground, models must be sought outside the preceding moralities.

The extent to which novel material has been injected into the old morality fabric can best be gauged through the characters. We have already seen, in section IV, which of them are new to morality casts. Among these are representatives of both the novel elements outlined above. The underlying philosophical allegory is embodied in the names Magnificence, Felicity and Liberty, Measure and Circumspection, and Fancy and Folly with their aliases. The court satire is put chiefly in the mouths of the four court vices. The original source for the first group, as was pointed out, is the *Ethics* of Aristotle, for the second, the *Narrenschiff* of Brant.

In neither case, however, does it seem likely that Skelton drew directly from the original sources, although he was doubtless familiar with them both, in translation at least. Just as the purely theological moral plays drew their allegorical scheme of vices and virtues originally from the Bible, but shaped and modified by a long tradition of speculation and homiletic application, so in Skelton's Aristotelian allegory there are evidences of the influence of intermediate adaptations. In the case of Brant the interval was far shorter, but the evidence is also against immediate connection. In both cases, the most important intermediary was in all probability an earlier work of Skelton himself.

Skelton was perhaps as much accustomed to fitting his moral advice to a princely Magnificence as were other priestly writers to Humanum Genus or Mankind. All that we know of his life goes to make the change which he effected in the morality aim and theme seem natural. As the old tutor of Henry, he doubtless felt privileged to follow his pupil's career with something of his former authority. *Magnificence* must have seemed to the king, if he ever saw the play, like a reminiscence of his school days.

Unfortunately there is little preserved with regard to Skelton's instruction of his royal charge except the fact and the tradition of the text-book. We have no means of knowing how Skelton secured so honourable a position, nor do we know certainly just when it began and ended. It must have begun after 1494, for in that year Henry, who was just three years old, was made Duke of York, and Skelton himself informs us in the *Garland of Laurel* (ll. 1226–1232):

> "The Duke of Yorkis creauncer whan Skelton was,
> Now Henry the viij., Kyng of Englonde,
> A tratyse he deuysid and browght it to pas,

> Callid *Speculum Principis*, to bere in his honde,
> Therin to rede, and to vnderstande
> All the demenour of princely astate,
> To be our Kyng, of God preordinate."

The *Speculum Principis* has not survived. Tanner (*Biblioth.* p. 676, quoted by Dyce, I. cii.) mentioned the following book as extant in his day among the MSS. of Lincoln Cathedral Library: "*Methodos Skeltonidis laureati*, sc. *Praecepta quaedam moralia Henrico principi postea Henr. VIII. missa*, Dat. apud Eltham A.D. MDI. Principium deest." This work would seem in all probability to have been the same as the "tratyse" which Skelton describes, but we are not able to put the question to a test, since it too has since disappeared.

Its loss has probably deprived us of the most direct source of *Magnificence*. As the other moralities were little more than the homilies of their clerical authors put on the stage, so *Magnificence* was in all likelihood a dramatization of a chapter from the *Speculum Principis*. In such a chapter we might expect to find foreshadowed most of the alterations and innovations which we have already noted as preventing *Magnificence* from being a slavish copy of Aristotle in terms or conceptions: the broader use of the term Magnificence itself, the change of name from Reason to Circumspection, from Incontinence to Fancy, from Liberality to Largess, and especially the introduction of the quite new conception of Liberty to put over against Felicity.

Such a conjecture is of course impossible to verify. But it is at least confirmed by an examination of other royal handbooks which have remained extant, and which do contain similarities to some of the distinctive features of Skelton's play.

One of the most famous of these, and one which Skelton must have used freely in compiling his own, is Occleve's *Regement of Prynces* (vol. III. of *Hoccleve's Works*, ed. by F. J. Furnivall, E. E. T. S., extra series, LXXII; London, 1897). Section 11 of the poem is entitled, *De Virtute Largitatis, et De Vicio Prodigalitatis* (pp. 149–161). The discussion begins by giving "Aristotle's" distinction between the virtue Largess and what is called "Fool-Largess." The following lines are significant for our play; phrases which bear an especial similarity to characters or incidents in *Magnificence* have been italicized:

> 4128. "As the men disseruen, so be *fre*;
> Yif *in mesure* vnto the indigent
> And the worthi, and that is wel dispent."
> (Cf. *Magn.* scene 3 and ll. 2483–91.)

4135. "Of verray *folye* also it procedith
To geve the vnworthi; for that cost
All mysse dispendid is, *for it is lost.*"
(Cf. the character Folly, and the whole of Stage III.)

4138. "And he that *dispendith out of mesure*
Shal tast anone *pouertes* bitternesse;
Foole largesse is therto a verray lure."
(Cf. Stage IV.)

4152. "Aftir his goode man may geue and dispende,
Wher as nede is; but he that al dispendith
And wastith al, shal himselue first offende.
Foole largesse al day wrycchedly endith;
Many a man hir foule outrage shendith;
But of largesse is goode the gouernaunce;
Bothe to God and man it is plesaunce."
(Cf. *Magn.* ll. 1896 ff., and ll. 269–282.)

4355. "Among *folies* all is noon, I leue,
More than a man his gode ful largely
Despende, *in hope men wol hym releue*
Whan his gode is despendid vtterly;
The indigent men setten no thing by.
I, Hoccleue, in swich case am gilty, this me touchith,
So seith pouert, which oon foole large him vouchith."
(Cf. scene 37.)

4408. "*Foole largesse and avarice*, tho tweyne,
If that a kyng eschue, and large be,
Reioyse he schal his real dignitee."
(Cf. *Magn.* ll. 2487–9.)

4411. "*How fool largesse a kyng destroye may,*
As blyue wole I vnto yow declare
Fool largesse yeueth so moche away,
That it the kynges cofres maketh bare."
(Cf. *Magn.* l. 2163.)

4422. "Good is beware of Goddes long suffrance;
Thogh he to venge hym tarie, and be suffrable,
Whan his strook cometh, it is importable."
(Cf. scene 31, especially l. 1882.)

From this chapter alone Skelton might wellnigh have derived the basal allegory of his moral play. The fundamental opposition of *Magnificence* is that of Measure to Folly, and this appears verbally in Occleve. The fault that Occleve describes folly as inspiring, "to geue the vnworthi," is exactly that through which Folly destroys Magnificence. Occleve's conceptions of Folly and of Fool-Largess, as opposed to the wise Largess, have clearly been analyzed in the play into Fancy with his

alias Largess, and Folly with his *alias* Conceit. Occleve's warning that he who "dispendith out of measure shal tast anone pouertes bitternesse," and especially that the "strook" of God will come upon him, might well have suggested the characters of Poverty and Adversity, with their impressive scenes. Another of the most effective scenes in the play (no. 37), where the successful thieves gloat over their downfallen victim, is hardly more than an expansion of a stanza of Occleve.

As Occleve himself informs us (l. 4124), he takes the larger part of his moralizing from "*Aristoteles de regimine principum, capitulo de largitate*"; that is, of course, from the pseudo-Aristotelian *Secreta Secretorum*. Turning to this, we find not only most of the features above enumerated wherein *Magnificence* agrees with the *Regement of Prynces*, but others wherein it departs from Occleve and from the *Ethics* as well. Skelton could hardly fail to have known either the original Latin or some one of the numerous translations of the fifteenth century. Among the latter, two seem more nearly than the rest to approach the conceptions and phraseology of *Magnificence*. The first is Lydgate and Burgh's *Secrees of Old Philisoffres* (ed. R. Steele, E. E. T. S., extra series, LXVI., 1894), which was completed from Lydgate's fragments by his disciple Burgh after his death (about 1452?); the second is the last of the three prose translations printed in the E. E. T. S., extra series, LXXIV, 1898, and said by Mr. Steele to have been translated by James Yonge in 1422. The chapter *De Largitate* appears in Lydgate and Burgh's translation under the title "Of foure maner kynges diuers of disposicion" (l. 736). After distinguishing between kings who are "skars" and "large" respectively to themselves and their subjects, he continues:

764. "Ther is a maner straunge difference,
For lak of *Resoun*, twen *prodigalyte*
And in a *kynges Royal magnificence*,
Whan he lyst parte of *liberallite*
To his sogettys as they been of degre,
So Egally I-holdyn the ballaunce,
Ech man contente with discreet Suffysaunce."

771. "*Ther is a mene* peysed in ballaunce
Atwixen hym that is a greet wastour,
To kepe a meene by attemperaunce,
That ech thyng be peysed *be mesour*."

813. "Nature hath set tweyne extremytees;
First be a maneer *discreet providence*,
That the streemys of *liberallite*
Set in good *mesour* Reffreytes of *prudence*,

Peysed in ballaunce; so that *Sapience*,
Queen of vertues, as lady souereyne,
That suych a meene be set atwen hem tweyne,
First conceyved and peysed ech Estat,
That ther be no froward transgressyoun
Of *wylfulnesse*, nor no *froward debat;*
Ech thyng in Ordre *Conveyed by Resoun*,
That mesour haue domynacyoun,
As it is ryght of trouthe and Equite,
Twen *Avaryce* and *prodigalyte*."

It is unnecessary to continue such quotations, by which the same ideas could be illustrated again and again, repeated with the same familiar terms, and in equally incoherent sentences, for over two hundred lines (736–973).

The prose translation is much more intelligible. In capitulum II occur the suggestive sentences (p. 128): "For who-So by *witte* and conynge doth ryght to euery man, wel as frende he owyth to be louyd of euery man, and as a ryghtful lorde to be dowtid and dredid. Onto Suche a prynce al men gladly obeyeth. This obeyaunce and force is not only by ryghtfulnes, but also by *fredome* and *larges*, And therfor a prynce owyth frely despende amonge his folke, and wysly eueryman rewarde aftyr his deserwynge. But whate myschefe folwyth of *chynchry* and *folargesse*, ye schal sene hit aftyr in this boke." In the next chapter, after making the same distinction between the four manners of kings, the translator continues (p. 130): "For the forsayd thyngis hit be-howyth to witte whate is *Fraunchise*. Fraunchise in Englyshe is callid frenys, or *fredome*. Nede hit is to witte how hit may be conquerid, Ihad, and mayntenyd. Also nede hit is witte whate harmes dothe *folargesse* and scarcite. Wherfor hit Is to wytte, that hard is to knowe in al poyntis *to holde the meene*, and lyght is hit to faile. . . . And therefor the more Maystri hit is, to know and conquere *fraunchis, that holdyth the meen wey*, than *folargyse* or auarice, that bene of two boundys. . . . Thow shalt Vndyrstonde that thow mayste despende, that frely aftyr thy Power thow mayste yeue of thyne owyn. For yf thow spendyst or yeveste othyr men goodes, thow *Passyste Fraunces*se, and *out of Fredome thow walkyst*. And *who despendyth more than* his Powere or *his goodis strechyth, descende he moste in Powerte;* And that is ayeynne the *vertu of larges*, and his rule ouer-Passyth. Forwhy whosoeuer folyche hym Mayntenyth in ouergrete costis ouer his Pouer, and wythoute nede, he is a wastoure of his goodes, and destrueth his roialme whate he may: he is not worthy to be a gouernoure. Suche is callid a *folle-large*, or a wastoure, that ouer-Passyth

Wysdome and Purveyaunce. . . . For whoso yewyth hyme that neddyth noght and hath noght deservid, that yefte is loste, For hit Is not aftyr Fraunches and wertu. . . . Alexandyr, y do the to witte certeynly, that a kynge that more yewyth than his roialme may sustene, *he shal anoone be destrued and broght to noght.* . . . *Fraunchis and largesse* auere makyth longe a royalme to Endure."

To be noted is the emphasis in both versions laid on the virtue of Measure, or the mean. This is mentioned by Occleve, but the brief reference that he gives to it hardly corresponds with the central position that it holds in the allegory of *Magnificence*. Here of course we have fidelity to the system of the real Aristotle, as in the use in the metrical version of the word "magnificence" as synonymous with munificence (ll. 766, 970). In another feature we have a common divergence from Aristotle, in the interesting introduction of the notion of Franchise or Freedom, corresponding exactly to the Liberty of *Magnificence*, who is also called Freedom. In the translations Freedom and Largess walk hand in hand as desirable virtues, so long as they are "conveyed by Reason," or provided "that Measure have domynacioun," so that there shall be no "wylfulnesse, nor no froward debat." The career of Liberty, a virtue when well used but a vice when abused, who escapes from Measure and passes under the unhappy control of Fancy or Wilfulness, is precisely the same.

A more famous royal handbook than any of those mentioned is the *Gouernour* of Sir Thomas Elyot. This, published first in 1531, of course could not have been known to Skelton. Elyot, on the other hand, may well have made use of Skelton's *Speculum Principis*. It is interesting to compare Elyot's treatment of the subjects of the play with that of his predecessor. A thorough classical scholar, he reproduces the ideas of Aristotle far more faithfully than Skelton, and seldom shows any such divergence as we have noted in the play. In one case, however, when he gives the distinction between liberality and magnificence, he fails just as Skelton does to make magnificence include good taste. The passage occurs in the tenth chapter of the second book, entitled, "Of beneficence and liberalitie," and forms a suggestive parallel to our play (*The Gouernour*, ed. H. H. S. Croft, London, 1883, 2 vols.; vol. II. p. 111): "All thoughe philosophers in the description of vertues haue deuised to set them as it were in degrees, hauing respecte to the qualitie and condition of the persone whiche is with them adourned; as applying Magnificence to the substaunce and astate of princes, and to priuate persones Beneficence and Liberalitie, yet be nat these in any parte

defalcate of their condigne praises. For if vertue be an election annexed unto our nature, and consisteth in a meane, which is determined by reason, and that meane is the verye myddes of two thynges viciouse, the one in surplusage, the other in lacke, than nedes must beneficence and liberalitie be capitall vertues. And magnificence procedeth from them, approchinge to the extreme partes; and may be tourned in to vice if he lacke the bridle of reason. But beneficence can by no menes be vicious and retaine still his name. Semblably liberalitie (as Aristotle saith) is a measure, as well in gyuing as in takyng of money and goodes."

Another chapter (Bk. I. chap. xxiv) deals with Circumspection, the "fifth branch of prudence," which "signifieth as moche as beholdynge on euery parte, what is well and sufficient, what lackethe, howe and from whens it may be prouided." Elyot's leading historical exemplar of this virtue is one which, there is little doubt, Skelton had prominently in mind in preaching circumspection to his imaginary prince (p. 256): "What more clere mirrour or spectacle can we desire of Circumspection, than kyng Henry the seuenth, of most noble memorie, father unto our mooste dradde soueraigne lorde, whose worthy renome, like the sonne in the myddes of his sphere, shyneth and euer shall shyne in mennes remembrance? What incomparable circumspection was in hym alway founden, that nat withstandynge his longe absence out of this realme, the disturbance of the same by sondrye seditions amonge the nobilitie, Ciuile warres and batayles, wherin infinite people were slayne, besyde skirmisshis and slaughters in the priuate contentions and factions of diuers gentilmen, the lawes layde in water (as is the prouerbe) affection and auarice subduinge iustice and equitie; yet by his moste excellent witte, he in fewe yeres, nat onely broughte this realme in good ordre and under due obedience, reuiued the lawes, auaunced Justice, refurnished his dominions, and repayred his manours; but also with suche circumspection traited with other princes and realmes, of leages, of aliaunce, and amities, that during the more parte of his reigne, he was litle or nothyng inquieted with outwarde hostilitie or martiall businesse."

Such parallel passages are of value chiefly as indications of the probable contents of Skelton's lost treatise, in all likelihood the true intermediary between Aristotle and *Magnificence*. When we come, however, to examine the dependence of *Magnificence* on the *Narrenschiff*, we are fortunate enough to have the intermediate work preserved. It is Skelton's earliest satire on court life, the *Bowge of Court* (Dyce, I. 30–50).

The dependence of the *Bowge of Court* on the *Narrenschiff*, or rather on Barclay's translation of it in 1509 (*The Ship of Fools*, translated by

Alexander Barclay, ed. by T. H. Jamieson, 1874), was pointed out by Herford in the *Literary Relations between England and Germany in the Sixteenth Century* (pp. 350–357), to which little is added by the dissertation of Rey (A. Rey, *Skelton's Satirical Poems in their relation to Lydgate's Order of Fools, Cock Lorell's Bote, and Barclay's Ship of Fools*, Bern, 1899). Brie, however, whose recent article (F. Brie, Skelton-Studien, *Engl. Stud.* xxxvii. 1) introduces order for the first time into the confusion of Skelton's chronology, places the *Bowge of Court* on stylistic grounds before 1509, and ascribes any reflection in it of Brant's work to Locher's Latin translation in 1497. It would be difficult to determine by internal evidence alone, which translation is used in the *Bowge of Court;* but for the sake of convenience, references in what follows have been made to the English version.

Herford shows that the *Bowge of Court* is based mainly on the chapter of the *Ship of Fools* that treats of the 'Fools who seek court favor' (Barclay, II. 211, "Of flaterers and glosers";) and that Skelton selected from Brant's all-embracing list the courtiers just as the author of *Cock Lorell's Bote* selected the tradesmen. In drawing his seven typical courtiers, however, Skelton clearly did not confine himself to one chapter of the *Ship of Fools*. The 'fools who seek court favor' are not differentiated, and but three distinct accusations seem to be made against them,—flattery, deceit, and mischief-making or love of discord. These three vices are embodied in the *Bowge of Court* in Favell, Dissimulation, and Subtility or Deceit, who may well owe their inspiration to this chapter. But the other four find closer originals in other parts of the *Ship of Fools*. In Herford's convenient classification of Brant's fools into six groups (pp. 333–338), the first three mentioned are the criminal, the insolent, and the riotous fools. From each of these Skelton has obviously drawn one or more types, which differ from their originals only in being put into court dress.

The criminal fools, according to Herford, include those guilty of "offences against the law and common morality,—oppression, crafty dealing of various kinds, forging and appropriation, dishonest borrowing and extortionate usury,"—the various forms of dishonesty that belong under "folly" only by virtue of the wide extension of meaning given that word by Brant and all his imitators. The second class includes "the insolent and quarrelsome people, who take offence at the slightest provocation or correction," and . . . "insolent upstarts, like the peasants." The third class, the riotous fools, include all who indulge in any form of dissipation. In the *Bowge of Court* we evidently have a member of the

first class in Harvey Hafter, the thief, of whom the poet says: "Whan I loked on hym, my purse was half aferde" (l. 238). The "insolent and quarrelsome" are represented respectively by Disdain, who "loked hawte" and "sette eche man at noughte" (l. 284), and Suspect, with "his hede full of gelousy" (l. 192). To the third class evidently belongs Riot, with his dice and his bawdy talk.

Exactly these four classes among whom the seven figures of the *Bowge of Court* are divided,—the criminal class with one, the insolent with two, the riotous with one, and the courtiers proper, false and malicious, with three,—are represented more economically in *Magnificence* by the four court-vices. The four are far from being mere repetitions from the earlier poem; but they are types, more or less different, belonging to the same general groups. The specific character-painting, it is to be noted, is done in the long monologues with which each of them is furnished, and in the case of Courtly Abusion and Cloaked Collusion, in the scenes of Stage III where they beguile Magnificence; in the long scenes where they are alone together, they are indistinguishable,—all evil courtiers with common traits, swearing, quarrelling, cowardice, and self-conceit.

With such restrictions, we may safely say that Harvey Hafter, the crafty thief of the *Bowge of Court*, reappears in the play as Crafty Conveyance, who tells us in his monologue (ll. 1354–7):

> "Thefte also and pety brybery
> Without me be full ofte aspyed;
> My inwyt delynge there can no man dyscry.
> Conuey it be crafte, lyft and lay asyde."

Elsewhere he tells us that he "conuayed" the letter that deceives the prince (l. 534), and boasts how well he has rifled Magnificence's coffers. But he is perhaps the least developed and most abstract of the four figures, and very far from being so vividly drawn a rascal as Harvey Hafter. His craft, too, is by no means so sharply restricted to theft. He can ably conceal any sort of wrong-doing such as is commonly restrained by "drede, that we dare not ofte, lest we be spyed"; and he boasts especially of his aid in love-passages and in defeats of justice.

The fools of insolence and presumption are represented in *Magnificence* by Counterfeit Countenance. He gives us, however, a different type of this quality from either Disdain or Suspect. They embody the insolence and touchiness of the fool of high rank; he embodies the insolence of the upstart. The reason for Skelton's substitution is not far to seek. During the interval had come the success of the conspicuous upstart who

became his chief target. All his later satires against Wolsey contain shafts aimed at him as "suddenly upstarte from the dung-cart" (*Colin Clout*, ll. 646, 7), or "cast out of a butchers stall" (*Why Come Ye Nat to Court*, l. 491); and the monologue of Counterfeit Countenance has similar expressions, not so plain, but pretty certainly intended for the low-born minister. Note for example ll. 417, 8 ff.:

> "A knaue wyll counterfet nowe a knyght,
> A lurdayne lyke a lorde to syght,"

and particularly ll. 480–86, which clearly have in mind a definite person.

For this portrait Skelton could have owed little to the *Ship of Fools*. The chapter which Herford cites for this form of insolence (Chap. 82, see Barclay, II. 95) treats rather of the loss of simplicity and content among "rude men of the countrey." Much closer are some lines from the chapter "Of the mutabylyte of fortune" (I. 186); *e. g.* p. 187:

> "Promote a yeman, make hym a gentyl man,
> And make a Baylyf of a Butchers son,
> Make of a Squyer knyght; yet wyll they if they can
> Coueyt in theyr myndes hyer promosyon. . . .
> Suche lokys so hye that they forget theyr felte
> On fortunes whele, whiche turneth as a ball.
> They seke degrees for theyr small myght vnmelte
> Theyr folysshe hertis and blynde se nat theyr fall."

There is considerable similarity here also to another patent reference to Wolsey, which Skelton puts in the mouth of Folly (ll. 1238–62).

In the accessory features of the portrait, Skelton is more dependent on Barclay. For Counterfeit Countenance, like Crafty Conveyance, is largely an abstraction, and is made to cover a much wider field than would appear from the central conception. He is used by thieves, playwrights, judges, grocers, captains, forgers, talkers, lovers, preachers, women, canons, and monks (ll. 431–93), as well as by upstart courtiers; and among means of counterfeiting special emphasis is laid on dress. All that Skelton has to say on this topic had been said before by Barclay in his chapter, "Of newe fassions and disgised garmentes" (I. 34). But dress belongs more properly to the domain of Courtly Abusion, and the parallels bearing on the subject had better be put together.

The riotous fools are represented in *Magnificence* by Courtly Abusion. He answers to Riot in the *Bowge of Court* in sharing his addiction to "rebaudrye" and "harlotrye" (compare *Bowge of Court*, ll. 368–73, 400–13, and *Magn.*, ll. 1545–87, where Courtly Abusion tempts his master to indulge in "Carnall Delectacyon"); parallels to this side of

both characters are to be found in such chapters of the *Ship of Fools* as those entitled, "Of disordred and venerious loue" (I. 79), and "The obieccion of lust blamynge vertue" (II. 289). But they differ in almost every other respect. Riot is a reckless debauchee, utterly careless of appearances,—"A rusty gallande, to-ragged and to-rente" (l. 345),—and rude of speech. Courtly Abusion, on the other hand, is a polished villain who charms his master with his language and manners (*Magn.*, ll. 1515–40) and drops his dissolute maxims with a superior air (ll. 1545–1628); and his most striking characteristic is his courtly dress, commented on by his associates and described in full by himself (ll. 745–67, 829–55, 960–63). Counterfeit Countenance merely induces extravagant dress in others, whereas Courtly Abusion exemplifies it himself as well.

The allusions made in connection with both characters can be strikingly paralleled in the chapter of the *Ship of Fools* cited above. In it the names of both occur frequently:

(p. 35) "Drawe nere, ye Courters and Galants disgised,
Ye *counterfayt* Caytifs, that ar nat content
As god hath you made."

(p. 36) "Thus by this deuysinge such *counterfayted* thinges
They dysfourme that figure that god hymselfe hath made,
On pryde and *abusion* thus ar theyr myndes layde."

(p. 37) "But if I shulde wryte al the ylles manyfolde
That procedeth of this *counterfayt abusion*
And mysshapen Fassions, I never shulde have done."

With both characters Skelton emphasizes the crime and consequent ruin into which such aping of their betters is apt to lead its victims (ll. 421–3, 473–4, 863–76, 891–911). But he is hardly so vigorous on this topic as Barclay:

(p. 37) "Than the Courters careles that on theyr mayster wayte,
Seinge hym his Uesture in such fourme abuse,
Assayeth suche Fassion for them to counterfayte.
And so to sue Pryde continually they muse;
Than stele they, or Rubbe they. Forsoth they can nat chuse;
For without Londe or Labour harde is it to mentayne,
But to thynke on the Galows, that is a careful payne.
But be it payne or nat, there many suche ende,
At Newgate theyr garmentis ar offered to be solde;
Theyr bodyes to the Jebet solemly ascende,
Wauynge with the wether whyle theyr necke wyl holde."

Both monologues are particularly severe upon women in this connection (ll. 452–65, 889–90). Barclay is even more bitter:

(p. 38) "And ye Jentyl wymen whome this lewde vice doth blynde,
Lased on the backe, your peakes set a loft,
Come to my Shyp; forget ye nat behynde
Your Sadel on the tayle, yf ye lyst to sit soft.
Do on your Decke Slut if ye purpos to come oft,
I mean your Copyntanke. . . .
So doth these women, dampnyng theyr soule to hell."

Peculiar to Courtly Abusion is the elaborate description of a gallant's dress, with "bushing" hair, wide robe, extraordinarily wide sleeves, strait hose, and wide buskins set with glittering gold (ll. 829–55, 902–6). All this tallies closely with Barclay's picture of a "yonge Jentylman's" array:

(p. 36, 7) "Blasinge and garded; to lowe or else to hye,
And wyde without mesure; theyr stuffe to wast thus gothe,
But other some they suffer to dye for lacke of clothe. . . .
Theyr sleues blasinge lyke to a Cranys wynges. . . .
To Shyp, Galauntes, come nere, I say agayne,
Wyth your set Busshes Curlynge as men of Inde,
Ye counterfayted Courters."

Courtly Abusion asserts that all these costly fashions have been brought from France (ll. 877–88); Barclay makes the same statement, adding that some less pleasing importations had also been introduced to the court from France (p. 39).

As the most skilful flatterer of the whole band, Courtly Abusion really combines with the character of Riot in the *Bowge of Court* the character of Favell,—(ll. 134, 5):

"Favell, full of flatery,
Wyth fables false that well coude fayne a tale,"—

and on this side he goes back to the chapter Herford cites as the chief original of the *Bowge of Court*, the chapter "Of flaterers and glosers" (II. 210). The following lines describe exactly the part he is made to play with the prince in scene 24:

(p. 211) "The kynges Court nowe adayes doth fede
Suche fayninge flaterers; and best they ar in grace,
As chefe with theyr lorde, by lyes gettinge mede,
Some with a fals herte, and a payntyd face."

(p. 212) "These faynynge flaterers theyr lordes thus begyle;
Yet ar theyr lordes therwith right well content. . . .
They flater theyr lorde with wordes fayre and gay."

(p. 213) "For grettest statis nowe a dayes
To be disceyued ar glad, and haue pleasour

In a dowble tunge, beleuynge that it sayes.
None is nowe beloued but suche as vse the wayes
Of adulacion."

The other two courtiers proper of the *Bowge of Court*, Dissimulation and Subtylte or Disceyte, are combined in *Magnificence* in Cloaked Collusion. Cloaked Collusion is without doubt the best-drawn character in the play. The vivid description that he gives of himself in his monologue (ll. 689–744) is consistently verified in his actions. He describes himself as a consummate dissembler and a determined tale-bearer and mischief-maker; and his hypocritical deception of Measure in scene 25 and then of Magnificence himself in scene 26 prove his words. In Dissimulation we have a first sketch of this figure, with in one case verbal agreement (l. 428):

"Than in his hode I sawe there faces tweyne" (cf. *Magn.* l. 710). Disceyte attempts to play with Drede the same part that Cloaked Collusion plays with Measure; and Drede tells us how (ll. 526–7)

"he rounded thus in myne ere
Of false collusyon confetryd by assente."

Deceit and mischief-making are two of the leading characteristics that Barclay dwells upon in his chapter on the courtiers. Some lines that Skelton probably had in mind are:

(p. 211) "Some with a false herte and a payntyd face,
In his lordes seruyce to haue chefe rowme and place,
Into his lordes erys yetyth secretly
Lyes venemous, debate to multiply." (Cf. *Magn.* scene 26.)

(p. 212) ". . . with fals talys his neyghbour doth greue,
Vnto a ryche man accusynge hym falsely,
To syt at his dysshe and get some mete therby. . . .
Whan a symple seruaunt must nedes stande arere.
The playne man hungreth, the lyer hath the chere."
(Cf. *Magn.* ll. 938–54, and scene 25.)

The strokes that Skelton borrows in depicting his four courtiers do not exhaust his debt to the *Ship of Fools*. As we glance over Barclay's list of chapter-headings, we find many that suggest features of the play. The chapter of "Couetyse and prodigalyte" (I. 29) comes very close to the fundamental theme of *Magnificence;* but the treatment of the two extremes is disappointingly unequal, only one stanza dealing with prodigality:

(p. 30) "Yet fynde I another vyce as bad as this,
Whiche is the vyce of prodygalyte.
He spendyth all in ryot and amys,
Without all order pursuynge pouertye," etc.

The chapter "Of nat folowers of good counsel" (I. 57) contains much that fits the case of the prince Magnificence, particularly the following stanza:

(p. 60) "If that it were nat for cawse of breuyte,
I coude shewe many of our predecessours
Whiche, nat folowynge counceyll of men of grauyte,
Soone haue decayed from theyr olde honours.
I rede of Dukes, Kynges, and Emperours,
Whiche, dispysynge the counsayle of men of age,
Haue after had great sorowe and damage."

Much the same expressions occur in the chapter "Of suche Folys as begyn to do well and contynue nat" (II. 108). The chapter "Of Folys bostyng them in fortune" (I. 124) might also have been aimed at Magnificence, who does in scene 23 exactly what is there forbidden, and who is lengthily enlightened in the closing scene on the danger of trusting in fortune (ll. 2505–60). The following stanza is apt:

(p. 125) "He shakyth boost and oft doth hym auaunte
Of fortunes fauoure and his prosperyte,
Whiche suffreth hym nought of his wyll to wante,
So that he knoweth nought of aduersyte,
Nor mysfortune, nor what thynge is pouertee.
O lawles fole, o man blyndyd of mynde!
Say what suretye in fortune canst thou fynde?"

Similar passages might also be drawn from the chapter "Of proude, vayne, and superflue bostys of Folys" (II. 64). Finally, Magnificence's experiences in poverty (Stage IV) are possibly suggested in part by two stanzas in II. 30:

"If suche a fole have patrymony and londe,
Or in his Coffres great treasour and riches,
He shall haue frendes and felawys at honde
To egge hym forwarde vnto vnhappynes,
And sawynge in hym sede of moche vnthryftynes,
And than to spoyle hym, and leue hym pore and bare,
Wherby he often must lyue in payne and care. . . .

So whan he by them is brought to pouertye,
Hauynge no thynge his bodye to sustayne,
Than all his frendes away fast from hym fle
As trayters vntrue, leuynge the Fole in payne.
Than cryeth he on god and sore doth hym complayne
With wofull wordes, mournynge with herte full faynt,
And than forthynkyth; but late is his complaynt."
(Cf. scenes 37, 38, and 39.)

The dissertation on the sins of fathers and children that is brought in quite extraneously in the monologue of Adversity (ll. 1920–35) is in all likelihood based on the two chapters of the *Ship of Fools* entitled "Of negligent Fathers" (I. 45) and "Of children that dysdayne to honoure and worshyp theyr parentis" (II. 147). It is interesting thus to trace one at least of the sources of a topic so favored in later moralities.

Two other chapters of special interest for the reader of *Magnificence* remain to be treated,—one for its metre, the other for its possible hint at personal reference. Near the end of the *Ship of Fools* occurs a curious section, not found in the original German, and much altered and enlarged by Barclay from the form in which it first appeared in Locher's Latin version. This addition, entitled "A concertacion or stryuynge bytwene vertue and voluptuosyte" (II. 286) is really a morality in miniature, occupying three chapters: the first an introduction, the second the "Obiection of lust blamynge vertue," and the third the "Answere of vertue agenst this obiection of voluptuosyte." Chapters first and third are in the same rime-royal stanza which with an occasional eight-line stanza is used elsewhere throughout the poem. Chapter second, however, presents a very unusual metrical structure; beginning with two and ending with eleven of the regular rime royals, it puts between eleven stanzas unlike anything else in the poem. Most of them are in half-lines, whereas in the rest of the *Ship of Fools* Barclay uses the same heavy four-stress line found in *Magnificence*. The half-line is used in a way very instructive for its probable origin in internal rime. Thus it begins with what is evidently a rime-royal stanza that has undergone this process, which however is imperfect at one point; the rime-scheme is aa bb aa bb xb cc cc^2. Then follows a highly intricate tail-rime stanza in 24 half-lines with but two rimes (aab aab bba bba aab aab bba bba^2); two stanzas that alternate between four-accent and three-accent lines ($abab^4$ $aaab^3$); a sixteen-line stanza in half-lines, evidently an eight-line stanza that has been subjected to the same internal rime process as the rime royal above (aa bb aa bb bb cc bb cc^2); a rather anomalous twenty-line stanza (aa bb aa bb cb cd bb bd^2 $dbdb^4$); and five half-line stanzas in ordinary tail-rime form ($aaab$ $aaab^2$). Two stanzas may be quoted for illustration (pp. 290 and 292, the doubled rime royal and one of the tail-rime stanzas):

"All my vesture
Is of golde pure;
My gay Chaplet,
With stonys set;
With couerture
Of fyne asure;
In syluer net
My here up knet;

Soft sylke bytwene
Lyst it myght fret;
My purpyll pall
Ouercouereth all,
Clere as Christall,
No thynge egall."

"Who euer they be
That folowe me
And gladly fle
To any standarde,
They shall be fre,—
Nat sek, nor se
Aduersyte,
Nor paynes harde."

The passage is of course a *tour de force*, but it is worth analyzing for the sake of comparison with Skelton's use of the half-line in *Magnificence*. As has been noted in the preceding section, Skelton reveals in *Magnificence* the origin of the half-line as he does not in any of his other poems. He had of course made extended use of it before the play, and in *Phillip Sparrow* before Barclay's translation as well. But elsewhere he had used it alone, and only with "leash" rimes,—the so-called Skeltonical. In *Magnificence* we see it arising out of the four-accent line by the introduction of internal rime, and we find it with different rime-schemes for different effects,—notably with rime royal. We find it used with intention to characterize the more frivolous vices, in a way not paralleled by its sporadic occurrence in some of the earlier moralities. All these features appear in Barclay's experimental half-lines. The diminutive rime royals of Courtly Abusion seem to echo the similar stanzas of Voluptuosity, with whom in conception he is partly identical; and in the even more tentative and capricious way in which Barclay plays with the new device, we seem to see the half-line form in the making. It is not impossible that Skelton here stooped again to take a hint from his rival and improve it.

The other parallel has the appearance of an intentional parody on a feature of Barclay's poem that was open to ridicule. Barclay, who must have been something of a time-server, interlarded his translation with a number of flattering allusions and addresses to Henry VIII, some added out of whole cloth, others adapted from similar passages addressed by his originals to their various rulers. The most elaborately pedantic of these is called "A specyall exhortacion and lawde of the kynge Henry the viij" (II. 205), and contains the following lines worthy of our particular notice:

"For Henry the eyght, replete with hye wysdome,
By iust tytyll gydeth our Septer of kyngdome.

This noble Prynce begynnyth vertuously
By iustyce and pyte his roylme to meyntayne,
So that he and his, without mo company,

May succour our sores by his manhode souerayne,
And get with his owne hande Jerusalem agayne.
He passyth Hercules in manhode and courage,
(Hauynge a respect vnto his tender age);

He passeth Achylles in strength and valyance;
His fame nere as great; *but as for his larges*
And lyberalyte, he sheweth in countenaunce
That no auaryce can blynde his rightwysnes.
Couetyse hath left behynde hym his ryches
Vnto the hyghe possessyon of lyberalyte,
Whiche with the same shall keepe our lybertye.

Let go Pompeius, and Camyllus also,
And Sylla; for none of them wyll I commende.
This Prynce I prayse alonely and no mo
Whiche is moste abyll our fayth for to defende."

Compare with this the boisterous monologue of the prince in *Magnificence*, scene 23. Barclay was evidently serious in placing Henry above Hercules and Achilles, Pompey, Camillus, and Sulla; Skelton outdoes him by placing his prince, who we shall see is a not altogether respectful prototype of Henry, by his own confession above thrice as many heroes: Hercules, Theseus, Alexander, for the Greeks; Porsena, Cato, Scipio, Caesar, Vespasian, Nero, Galba, and Bassianus for the Romans; and Cyrus and Darius, Hannibal, Alericus, Charlemagne, and Arthur for good measure. The satire on Barclay's style, if such it is intended to be, is notably more delicate than most of Skelton's attacks on his literary and political enemies. But Skelton was for some reason surprisingly gentle in his treatment of Barclay, if we may judge by his extant writings. In reply to Barclay's numerous and always contemptuous references to him, the only retort, unless this be one, is his mild defence of *Phillip Sparrow* in the *Garland of Laurel* (ll. 1254–60), against Barclay's sneer in the *Ship of Fools* (II. 331). Barclay's political allusion to Henry VIII's liberality as contrasted with his father's parsimony is also noteworthy. Barclay, it is evident, agreed with Skelton and Elyot as to the facts, although, unlike Skelton, he regarded the son's lavishness as a virtue, and, unlike Elyot, the father's "circumspection" as a vice.

In view of so wholesale a permeation into *Magnificence* of the philosophy and the language of the *Ship of Fools*, it is difficult to explain the doubt expressed by Brie (*Engl. Stud.* xxxvii. 40), "dass sich . . . der einfluss des *Narrenschiffs* bemerkbar macht . . . in irgendnier uns bekannten dichtung Skelton's." The reality of the depend-

ence of the play on Brant's satire is emphasized by the contrast of its relations to the earlier English fool-satires, Lydgate's *Order of Fools* and *Cock Lorell's Bote*, from which it borrowed practically nothing. As regards the form in which Skelton had access to the *Narrenschiff*, there is, so far as I have observed, no evidence to prove that he used Barclay's translation when he composed the *Bowge of Court;* but such evidence abounds in the case of *Magnificence*. To the many verbal correspondences cited above may be added the fact that the two last correspondences mentioned concern passages in the *Ship of Fools* that are independent of the original, one in its metre, the other in its application to the English monarch. The *estrif* between virtue and voluptuosity is in general a very free rendering of Locher; and the chapter "Of newe fassions and disgised Garmentes" from which *Magnificence* draws so many touches, is almost wholly original with Barclay (cf. F. Fraustadt, *Über das Verhältnis von Barclay's Ship of Fools zur lateinischen, französischen, und deutschen Quelle*, Breslau diss., 1894; pp. 16, 33).

More important than any influence in detail exerted by the *Ship of Fools* was its general influence, on the English drama as a whole and on *Magnificence* in particular, in assisting the vital change then taking place in dramatic characterization. To trace the extent of this process in *Magnificence* will require a special chapter. But if, as we shall see, the *Narrenschiff* helped to transform the personified abstraction into the type, it gave new life to at least one specimen of the former class, namely, Folly; and it must have encouraged one undramatic feature of *Magnificence*, namely, the long monologues in which each of the vices describes his own character. In the *Ship of Fools*, it is true, the description of the successive types is usually put in the mouth of the author; but in the chapters beginning I. pp. 19 and 41, the fool speaks in the first person, and so do the abstractions Wisdom (I. 119), Voluptuosity (II. 289), and Virtue (II. 296). In these chapters we have precisely the monologue form as it appears in *Magnificence*.

VIII. Characterization.

a. *Abstractions and types.* In summing up the influence that Brant's *Ship of Fools* exerted upon Skelton and his contemporaries, Herford gives perhaps the clearest statement of the momentous change in characterization then taking place in the drama (p. 324): "It helped to bridge over the difficult transition from the literature of personified abstractions to that which deals with social types. It helped to substitute

study of actual men and women at first hand for the mere accumulation of conventional traits about an abstract substantive; to turn allegory into narrative, moralities into dramas . . .". The same idea has been expressed, not so exactly, by ten Brink (*Gesch. der eng. Litt.*, II. 470) and by Ward in his article on Barclay in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.* (cited by Herford, p. 324). Since the personified abstraction was the essential feature of a morality, and the type, though not necessarily the social type, is an essential feature of a comedy, we cannot assign *Magnificence* its proper place in the transition from one dramatic species into the other without discovering to what extent it partook of the new method of characterization.

For the process in its completion we can find no better illustration than Skelton's immediate successor Heywood. With the exception of the "vyce" Mery Report in *Weather*, and the mythological figure of Jupiter, all of Heywood's characters are pure types; and in *Johan Johan*, if that be his, he has taken the important additional step of giving to his typical husband, wife, and priest individual names. In discarding the abstraction altogether, however, Heywood differs from the contemporary and later interludes. It is also to be noted that his types all represent either social classes as in *Weather*, *Four P's*, and *Pardoner and Friar*, or sentimental states, as in *Love*; he has no moral types, that is, representative embodiments of some moral trait. These were the specific invention of the dissolving morality; and they find their legitimate descendants in Jonson's comedy of humors. Their absence in Heywood is one thing that prevents his interludes from being real comedies. Heywood stands a little on one side of the regular course of English dramatic development. A careful study of his characterization would probably confirm the view already put forward (Karl Young, "Influence of the French Farce upon the Plays of John Heywood," *Mod. Phil.*, II. 97, June, 1894), that he drew rather from the French farce than directly from the moral plays. Yet his use of the social type was, so far as it went, quite in harmony with the stage that dramatic art had reached. It is curiously significant to find him appropriating almost without change the character of the pardoner from Chaucer. Chaucer, who passed from the abstractions of the *Romaunt of the Rose* to the social types of the *Prologue*, arrived in a single life-time at the same point in the creation of dramatic character which the actual drama had not reached until Heywood's day (cf. Swoboda, p. 66).

In this development Skelton holds a much less advanced position than Heywood, and indeed, as I shall attempt to show in the second part

of this study, than some of the older moral plays. As compared with some other sides of his own dramatic art also, his characterization appears backward. In no single one of his personages has he completely shaken off the allegorical dress. In one of them he has even taken a slight retrograde step. The original morality cast contained among its abstractions one typical figure in its hero Mankind,—a real type, though the broadest logically conceivable. This was gradually narrowed in succeeding plays. Skelton continues the narrowing process properly enough by making his hero a typical prince, and thus produces, in every respect but one, a social type drawn with considerable realism. But the selection of the allegorical name Magnificence gives the character a slight abstract coloring from which all its prototypes, with the exception of the "King of Life" in the early *Pride of Life*, are free.

Skelton's conservatism in this respect is doubtless to be explained as due to his learning. Allegory had in its origin been a learned development; and in none of its forms did it become popular. The morality itself was in spirit a sort of compromise between the purely popular miracle-play and the purely aristocratic courtly allegory. To this fact, indeed, it owes its adoption into literature in the narrower sense, from which the miracle always remained excluded. Naturally moral-play-wrights with popular sympathies would neglect the allegorical side, while men of learning, such as Skelton pre-eminently was, would cling to it.

Whatever its explanation, the mixture of allegorical and typical elements in the delineation of his personages is characteristic of Skelton. *Magnificence* blends the old and the new method more evenly than in any other moral play; perhaps it is on that account a better example of the transition. The same curious blending is found in equal measure in the *Bowge of Court;* a work peculiarly analogous to *Magnificence*, for in it Skelton adapted the courtly allegory to the purpose of personal satire exactly as in *Magnificence* he adopted the morality. We have seen how intimately he introduced into both the old forms the new motives taken from the *Ship of Fools*. In the seven characters of the *Bowge of Court*, he has combined no less closely the two kinds of portraiture characteristic of his two sources. A comparison of four of these descriptions will serve to illustrate Skelton's method in its varying proportions.

In the first, we have, except for the abstract name, a lively picture of a purely typical spendthrift and profligate. In the second, the name is concrete, and the description portrays a typical court gambler, but contains one allegorical touch. In the third we have an abstract name and more

allegory in the description, which is partly a portrait of Disdain the haughty courtier and partly a symbolic personification of the emotion disdain. The fourth is almost wholly allegorical, but uses an alternative concrete name. The allegorical portions are italicised. First the portrait of Riot (*Bowge of Court*, ll. 344–364):

"Wyth that came *Ryotte*, russhynge all at ones,
A rusty gallande, to-ragged and to-rente;
And on the borde he whyrled a payre of bones;
'*Quater, treye, dews*,' he clatered as he wente,
'Now haue at all, by Sayntе Thomas of Kente!'
And euer he threwe, and kyst I wote nere what.
His here was growen thorowe oute his hat.

Thenne I behelde how he dysgysed was:
His hede was heuy for watchynge ouer nyghte;
His eyen blered; his face shone lyke a glas;
His gowne so shorte that it ne couer myghte
His rumpe, he wente so all for somer lyghte;
His hose was garded wyth a lyste of grene,
Yet at the knee they were broken, I wene;

His cote was checked with patches rede and blewe;
Of Kyrkeby Kendall was his shorte demye;
And ay he sange, 'In fayth, Decon, thou crewe';
His elbowe bare, he ware his gere so nye;
His nose a-droppynge; his lyppes were full drye;
And by his syde his whynarde and his pouche,—
The deuyll myghte daunce therin for ony crowche."

The portrait of another figure who is entitled Harvey Hafter (*i. e.* robber, thief) is as follows (ll. 230–238):

"But as I stode musynge in my mynde,
Haruy Hafter came lepynge, lyghte as lynde.

Vpon his breste he bare a versynge boxe;
His throte was clere, and lustely coude fayne;
Methoughte his gowne was all furred wyth foxe;
And euer he sange, 'Sythe I am no thynge playne.'
To kepe him from pykynge it was a grete payne.
He gased on me with his gotyshe berde;
Whan I loked on hym, my purse was half aferde."

Disdain is thus described (ll. 284–294):

"He loked hawte, he sette eche man at noughte.
His gawdy garment with scornnys was all wrought;
With indygnacyon lyned was his hode.
He frowned, as he wolde swere, 'By Cockes blode!'

He bote the lyppe; he loked passynge coye;
His face was belymmed as byes had him stounge;
It was no tyme with him to jape nor toye.
Enuye hathe wasted his lyuer and his lounge;
Hatred by the herte so had hym wrounge
That he loked pale as asshes to my syghte.
Dysdayne, I wene, this comerous crabes hyghte."

Finally we have the picture of Dissimulation, or "Dyscymular" (both titles are used) (ll. 427–440):

"Anone Dyscymular came where I stode.

Than in his hode I sawe there faces tweyne:
That one was lene and lyke a pyned goost;
That other looked as he wolde me haue slayne.
And to me warde as he gan for to coost,
Whan that he was euen at me almoost,
I sawe a knyfe hyd in his one sleue,
Whereon was wryten this worde, 'Mysceue.'

And in his other sleue me thought I sawe
A spone of golde full of hony swete,
To fede a fole, and for to preue a dawe;
And on that sleue these wordes were wrete:
'A false abstracte cometh from a fals concrete.'
His hode was syde; his cope was roset graye."

The same remarkable blending of conceptions is to be found in the character-drawing of the play, with the same variety of proportion between the allegorical and the typical elements. The closest parallel to the characterizations cited above is naturally found in the related figures of the four court-vices. These furnish the nearest approach made by the play to drawing a pure type, with the exception of Magnificence, who, as I have said, was a type by dramatic descent. The extent to which they have shaken off the abstraction is to be ascribed, as in the *Bowge of Court*, to the influence of the *Narrenschiff* from whose treasury they are substantially taken. Skelton was justified in pluming himself chiefly on them in boasting of his play in the *Garland of Laurel*, for they constitute its main dramatic achievement.

In considering their characterization we must distinguish between Skelton's two means, action and objective description. Such advance as is made from the abstraction to the type is chiefly in the action. In the description of his characters, which Skelton puts into their own mouths in the long monologues, emphasis is generally laid on the allegorical side. This is not surprising. These curious monologues, which are quite

different from the true dramatic monologue of the mature drama, being in reality speeches addressed frankly to the audience (cf. ll. 407–9, 721–3, 829–31, 992–5, etc.), form an essentially alien feature. They are, however, an almost universal feature of the moralities, and Skelton's are surpassed in length and dulness by many in the other plays; and in reality the morality has in them its closest affinity with its ancestor the narrative allegory. In the increasing introduction of portrayal by action, on the other hand, lies its closest affinity with its descendant the mature drama; and the new means of portrayal favored the new sort of characterization.

The comparison of the monologues, then, with the descriptions cited above from the *Bowge of Court* is historically fair. Precisely the same varieties of mixture of allegorical and typical elements occur in the self-descriptions of the four court-vices as in the objective portraits of the narrative poem. The monologue of Counterfeit Countenance (scene 8) is purely allegorical. He forgets that he is a person and a villain, and characterizes himself solely as a vice, that variety of pride which leads men, especially the inhabitants of courts, to pretend to be above their stations (compare particularly ll. 411, 417–23, 429–30, 437). The monologue of Cloaked Collusion (scene 11), on the other hand, has the two elements rather evenly blended. Many of the phrases he uses fit only the abstract vice,—the form of malice which is especially active at courts in spreading slander and making trouble for one's neighbour (see ll. 695–6, 699–702, 706, 710–11, 713, 727); but as many would if taken separately give us the portrait of a typical villain inspired with such a spirit (ll. 698, 707–9, 716–21, 724–6, 730–4, 736–44). Courtly Abusion's monologue (scene 14) also has both elements, but not so inextricably entangled as with Cloaked Collusion. The first half gives a description of his costume as a typical dandy dressed in the latest fashions (ll. 832–55); all the rest has to do with the abstraction Courtly Abusion, the vice prevalent at courts of extravagance in dress and habits (ll. 856–911). Finally, the monologue of Crafty Conveyance (scene 19), like that of Counterfeit Countenance, is almost entirely a dissertation on the vice signified by his name, the cunning of the thief that enables hypocrites in the glare of court life to conceal their crimes and indulgences (compare especially ll. 1332–43, 1354–60, 1368–9); only at the end do we have a touch of personal character given (ll. 1370, 1372–4).

In the more dramatic parts of the drama, where there is real action or dialogue, the four figures become fairly unmixed types. At the same time, they are much less distinct from each other. Skelton's dramatic

art was too immature for him to make distinctions as fine in his presentation of character as in his morality. When the four act or debate together as in scenes 9, 10, 12, 13, 15, 18, 36, and 37, they act simply as typical dishonest courtiers, without particular addition. They are equally proficient in curious and variegated oaths, all of them like to make a show of power by pride and rudeness, and all are extremely quarrelsome, but only with words, not swords.

In their relations to the prince, however, considerable approach is made toward giving individuality to two of them,—Courtly Abusion and Cloaked Collusion. These scenes (24–26) and these two characters represent the summit of Skelton's achievement in the play in the direction of character creation. In scene 24, Courtly Abusion preserves and develops exactly the *rôle* indicated for him in his monologue. He appears as much of an adept in courtly language and manners as in courtly dress, and charms Magnificence with his polished flattery (ll. 1529–38); and thereupon advises him "to fall in aquayntaunce with euery newe facyon," and especially "to fasten your Fansy vpon a fayre maystresse," proceeding to air his knowledge of the world and his cynical views about women. In scenes 25 and 26 equal distinctness is given to a contrasted type, the treacherous and subtle Cloaked Collusion. Scene 25, where he enters with Measure, pretending to be his friend and promising to intercede for his restoration to favor, only to betray him in a whisper to the prince, is the most dramatic of the play. In scene 26 he continues to realize the character he has described in his monologue, betraying his own accomplices, as well as the prince, by persuading him to take his purse from Fancy and Liberty, and entrust it to himself and one or two others (ll. 1762–89).

There is no such individualization of the figures Counterfeit Countenance and Crafty Conveyance. In their monologues, as we saw, they are almost purely allegorical; in their action they are not differentiated from the other courtier types. In one passage (ll. 529–35) there seems to have been an effort to make them act as befits their names, where Counterfeit Countenance is said to have "counterfeited" the forged letter and Crafty Conveyance to have "conveyed" it; but the connection is merely verbal, for these acts do not reflect the real signification of the names.

The other two vices, Fancy and Folly, stand on a different footing. As part of the fundamental allegory, their acts are in general necessarily symbolical; and they represent so much broader conceptions than the court-vices that it would have been difficult to individualize them as

for instance, Cloaked Collusion is individualized. By an essentially different process, however, they have been given a special sort of personality; by the concentration in them of the humor of the play, they have become buffoons, fools, or "vices" in the later technical use of the word,—a development that will require special notice. Their counterparts Measure and Circumspection have a slight typical characterization. As with Fancy and Folly, the broad outlines of their parts are purely allegorical: Measure's falling out of favor with the prince and being banished from the court, Circumspection's absence on a journey and return. But in the detailed execution, Measure becomes at times a typical honest counsellor, somewhat prosy, and simple-minded in his very honesty; and Circumspection an old and respected adviser. All the other figures around the hero are abstractions and nothing more. Felicity is stolen away, Liberty is set free from restraint, Adversity beats down the prince, Poverty, Despair, and Good Hope visit him in turn, he is about to embrace Mischief and is persuaded to embrace Redress and Perseverance instead,—all this is pure allegory. These figures overflow with generalization and moral advice, without assuming a trace of personality, except what is implicit in their talking and acting at all.

The hero himself presents a problem of characterization different in kind from all the other figures in the play. In his case we have to determine, not how far an abstract conception has been transformed into a type, but how far a generalized type, the most general possible, has been narrowed down to the type of a special class. The original hero of the moral play, to trespass for a moment on the territory to be entered in the second half of this study, was Man in general, and the hero of Skelton's play is intended as a representative of the very restricted class of kings. It is true, as has been noted, that he has been given a slight touch of the abstraction by his name; this gives him a place in the allegory, but it has not left a trace in his characterization, either in the action or in his monologue. As "your magnificence" was a common substitute for the royal name, perhaps the term was not felt as really abstract. On the other hand, the antecedent Man sometimes peeps through the specialized figure of the Prince; notably in Stage V, where he confesses to sin and repents in the traditional manner, rather as would befit an ordinary man than a king who has committed blunders in state-craft. He is deprived of many of the scenic accessories of royalty because the action takes place near the palace instead of at the palace itself. Still, the intention to depict a king is unmistakable and repeatedly emphasized.

The doubt on this head raised by Hooper ("Skelton's Magnyfycence

and Cardinal Wolsey," *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xvi. 213), in an article that attempts to identify Magnificence with Wolsey, seems to rest on a strange misunderstanding of the word "negarde" (l. 388) as implying low birth. Directly the opposite is shown when Magnificence speaks of his "noble blood" (l. 2060), a passage that could never have been put into the mouth of Wolsey. There occur, of course, many terms that are non-committal as to exact rank, though none that would not be applicable to a king: "noblenesse" (ll. 194, 225, 265, 2021, etc.), a "noble man" (ll. 404, 1626, 2112,—not a nobleman), a "lorde" (ll. 270, 388, 1606, 1886, 2123), and the forms of address "magnificence" and "your grace" (ll. 1521, 25, 34 and 1633, 44),—the last-mentioned, which to-day is restricted to dukes and archbishops, was then used freely in addressing kings (cf. *N. E. D. sub* grace, 16. b.). But even more frequently are terms unmistakably royal used: Magnificence is repeatedly called a "prynce" (ll. 279, 1457, 71, 1545, etc.), a "noble prynce" (ll. 166, 273, 2280), a "prynce ryall" (l. 173), or a "state ryall" (l. 383), and is alluded to as a "sufferayne" (l. 1271); he "raynes" (ll. 265, 1485), makes a knight (l. 521), has *the* court (ll. 764, 834), and a "paleys" (l. 2562); and is classed with other kings (ll. 280, 1466–1514).

b. *Humor and the "vice."* The two fun-makers of the morality are the brothers Fancy and Folly. Its humor is confined, as usual, to the *rôles* of the evil characters; and of these Fancy and Folly alone make fun for its own sake. There is humor in the depiction of the cowardice of Collusion, Conveyance, and Abusion in scenes 12 and 13, but it is introduced with the ulterior purpose of satisfying the court "gyse nowe adayes" (see ll. 808–14). So the humorous description of Courtly Abusion strutting in his fine raiment is merely part of his *rôle*, a satire on the fashionable excesses of the court. But the jokes made by or at Fancy or Folly have in most cases no particular connection with court life or satirical aim of any kind.

The concentration of the pure humor of the play into these two *rôles* is explained by the fact, hitherto unnoticed, that both Fancy and Folly are meant to be court-fools. The evidence for this identification comes partly from the allusions in the text to their character and their dress, and partly from the nature of the *rôles* themselves. We have already considered (pp. xlv, xlvi) the unmistakable references to the fool's habit worn by both Fancy and Folly. Other external testimony is afforded by the terms applied to them throughout the play, and this is corroborated by the internal evidence gained from an examination of Skelton's handling of the parts.

The term "fole" and the epithets "folyshe," "fond," "fonnish," "brainsick," "frantic," are constantly applied to Fancy and Folly, and in a professional way differing from the occasional use of them with other characters. Thus in l. 1092 Folly accepts the term and applies it to himself and Fancy:

"Ye, a fole the tone, and a fole the tother."

In l. 1171, Folly puns on the double meaning, literal and professional, of the word, when Crafty Conveyance expresses a desire to have him in the band:

"Cra.Con. Cockys armys! a mete man for vs.
Fol. What? wolde ye haue mo folys, and are so many?

In l. 1162, Folly's *rôle* is described as playing "at the hoddypeke"; in l. 1192, as playing "Cocke Wat." Both expressions are synonyms for playing the fool (cf. Dyce's notes and the *N. E. D.*).

An indirect light is thrown upon the nature of Fancy's *rôle* by a passage in scene 7, which has also an independent interest. Fancy here (ll. 346–61) describes his unpleasant experience with the rustic crowd at the seaside when coming from France to England, and inserts in his description one of our earliest references to Friar Tuck:

"And boyes to the pylery gan me plucke,
And wolde haue made me Freer Tucke,
To preche out of the pylery hole
Without an antetyme or a stole."

The reference is justly used by Brie (pp. 35–37) in support of Skelton's probable authorship of a Robin Hood play. In an earlier study (R. Fricke, *Die Robin-Hood-Balladen; ein Beitrag zum Studium der englischen Volksdichtung*, Braunschweig, 1883; p. 52) it was used as the basis of a theory regarding the origin of this popular figure: "Wir werden nicht weit fehlgreifen, wenn wir auf Grund dieser wenigen Worte die Vermutung aufstellen, dass der friar Tuck zuerst die alte Rolle eines boy-bishop spielt, jener Figur, welche so lange und so häufig das Volk belustigt hat, und dass er erst später zu einer wichtigen Persönlichkeit im Morris-dance geworden ist. In den Maispielen, wo fast alle Volksbelustigungen sonst verschiedenen Ursprungs zusammenliefen, um mit anderen zu verschmelzen oder ganz unterzugehen, kam er auch in einen gewissen äusseren Zusammenhang mit Robin Hood, und es lag gewiss nicht fern, den Kampf Robins mit einem friar speciell auf den friar Tuck zu übertragen." (Cf. also A. Ruckdeschel, *Die Quellen des Dramas "The Downfall and Death of Robert, Earle of Huntington,*

otherwise called Robin Hood," Erlangen, 1897 ; p. 17). Our identification of Fancy with the Fool in character and habit lends and receives some confirmation from this theory. The Fool and the Friar were companion figures in the May games and the Morrisdance (Chambers, I. 195–198). If Friar Tuck was ultimately derived from the Boy-Bishop, the Fool came from the Feast of Fools (Chambers, I. 372 ff.). The Fool's costume, too, was essentially a parody on the ecclesiastical shaven head and cowl (cf. Douce, p. 508). It was natural that the French crowd, on seeing Fancy so attired, should be reminded of their favorite May sport; natural, too, that the first form that their horseplay took should be a proposal to cut off his ears (l. 349 : "Or elles I had lost myne eres twayne"), for the two large ass's ears formed the most prominent feature of the fool's headdress.

The internal evidence, in the handling of the *rôles* themselves, is even more conclusive. The principal characteristic of the court fool as distinguished from other denizens of the court was perhaps his licence of speech. His freedom, sometimes offensive, toward his master and all around him marked him off from the obsequious courtiers quite as sharply as his cap and bells. Precisely this contrast is made in the play. Nothing more uncourtierlike can be imagined than the rude familiarity of Fancy's manner toward Magnificence on his first introduction in scene 6. His impudence, indeed, almost costs him his success in his mission, and he is fain to win back the prince's favor by producing his forged letter. In the whole scene we have a by no means unhappy picture of the "allt licensed" fool with types of whom Skelton was familiar in real life; note his rude interruption on entering (ll. 251–60), and the saucy retorts with which he finally infuriates the prince (ll. 292–305). We are no shown Folly's introduction to Magnificence; but there are sufficient examples of his insolence to others, and he is described as being capable of as much to the prince himself (cf. scene 18, especially ll. 1167–9). Of them both Crafty Conveyance says (l. 1331):

"Foly and Fansy all where euery man dothe face and brace."

So far the two fools share the common characteristics of their station. But they do not by any means duplicate each other. With considerable ingenuity, and evident familiarity with all varieties of the type, Skelton has given us two court fools who are quite distinct. Fancy and Folly are contrasted, first of all, in stature. Folly is of ordinary size, or even above it; Fancy is diminutive, apparently a dwarf. As we have seen above (p. xlviii), the point is dwelt on with some insistence, and received

consideration in dividing the parts among the actors. The dwarf was as much in demand at medieval courts as the fool; and when, as was not unnatural, the attractions of diseased brain and stunted body were united, the combination became a treasure indeed (cf. J. Doran, *A History of Court Fools*, 1858, p. 39; and A. Canel, *Recherches historiques sur les Fous des Rois de France*, 1873, p. 26). Skelton's Fancy is evidently intended as such a combination.

Another distinction constantly made between the fools of real courts is well described by Robert Armin in the *Nest of Ninnies*, p. 12 (Shakespeare Society, 1842): "Here you haue heard the difference twixt a flat foole naturall, and a flat foole artificiall; one that did his kinde, and the other who foolishly followed his owne minde: on which two is written this Rime:

> Naturall fooles are prone to selfe conceipt;
> Fooles artificiall with their wits lay wayte
> To make themselues fooles, liking the disguise,
> To feede their owne minds, and the gazers eyes."

Cf. also Douce, p. 499. The natural fool included all varieties of the feeble-minded, from idiots to those silly by nature, yet cunning and sarcastical. The artificial fool, on the other hand, had to possess an amount of wit considerably above the ordinary; he took the cap and bells as a profession, and aped the vagaries of his weak-minded brother. The fascination which the first class had for their medieval owners lay chiefly in their occasional deviations into sense, their startling expressions of truths, often unpleasant, that secured them a popular reputation for something like inspiration. The humor of the second class, on the other hand, lay solely in their departure from sense, and their mimicry of the real fools.

In Skelton's day, when the maintenance of domestic fools was a universal custom, there existed an extraordinary number of both classes. Of the first class, the fool natural, we know of Sir Thomas More's Patenson (the passage on fools in the *Utopia*, Bk. II. Chap. vii, will recur), Wolsey's Patch (cf. Cavendish's *Life*, Morley's Universal Library ed., p. 148), who was afterwards presented to the King, and the famous Caillette and Triboulet of Francis I, who, according to their French biographer (J. F. Dreux de Radier, *Histoire des Fous en titre d'Office*, for which see C. Leber, J. B. Salgues, et J. Cohen, *Collection des meilleures Dissertations, Notices, et Traités particuliers, relatifs à l'Histoire de France*, 1826–38, vol. viii. p. 152), "était de ces fous imbécilles dont la naïveté est telle, que leurs actions ou leurs réponses ont quelque

chose d'aussi amusant que la vivacité et l'esprit des autres." The most celebrated fool of his age and the longest remembered, Henry's Will Summers, was, on the other hand, evidently a fool artificial or professional jester, with more than ordinary wit. Finally, the same distinction was later observed by Shakspere in his gallery of fools. Lear's Fool was, of course, a natural—an "innocent," as he is called by Edgar—notwithstanding his "sarcastical flashes of wit" (cf. Douce, p. 419); whereas Touchstone, Feste, and most of the others were what Shakspere calls in *Twelfth Night* "allowed fools" or "set fools," that is, fools artificial.

This distinction appears unmistakably in *Magnificence*. In Fancy, Skelton has depicted a "fool naturall,"—not an idiot, but, to use the epithets constantly applied to him in the play, weak-brained, frantic, fantastical. The humor of his part is almost wholly that of which he is the butt. He is constantly abused by his companions: "this is Fansy Small-Brayne" (l. 583); "A, Fansy, Fansy, God sende the brayne!" (l. 608); "fonnysshe Fansy, thou arte frantyke" (l. 650); "What! canest thou all this Latyn yet, And hath so mased a wandrynge wyt?" (l. 1144), says even his brother Folly, who greets him on another occasion with, "What, Brother Braynsyke! how farest thou?" (l. 1845). At l. 1103 ff., he is beguiled by Folly to exchange purses "sight unseen"; he finds in Folly's purse "nothynge but the bockyll of a sho," while his own contained "twenty marke." Fancy is, somewhat unsuitably, conscious of his own mental infirmities, which he describes at length in his monologue in scene 16 (ll. 1006–43), after having previously characterized himself as "mery as a Marche hare" (l. 922).

Folly, on the other hand, is an "allowed fool" like Touchstone or Feste. He is a shrewd, witty fellow who has assumed the fool's dress and part the better to serve his own end, *i.e.* to beguile Magnificence. Of such artificial fools Puttenham remarks (*Arte of English Poesie*, Arber Reprints, 1869), "a buffoune or countrefet foole, to here him speake wisely which is like himselfe, it is no sport at all; but for such a counterfait to talke and looke foolishly it maketh us laugh, because it is no part of his naturall." Folly fulfils this recipe so thoroughly that Crafty Conveyance, to whom he is a stranger, is disposed at first to take him for a real "natural," but he is speedily undeceived (ll. 1192–1209); and when Folly, by a clever trick, even divests him of his coat, as he has previously cozened Fancy of his purse, Crafty Conveyance acknowledges that he is master of them all,—

> "Cra. Con. And for a fole a man wolde hym take.
> Fol. Nay, it is I that foles can make" (ll. 1213, 4).

Folly uses two notable devices in playing the fool that further distinguish him from the other characters of the play, including Fancy. The first is inconsequent answers. When he is abused, or is asked inconvenient questions, he becomes suddenly deaf and very stupid; and his incongruous replies must have aroused peals of laughter in the Tudor audience. This occurs especially in scene 17, during his dialogue with Fancy (cf. ll. 1059–66, 1085–97). The secoud device is employed before Magnificence in scene 28. Folly performs his office of amusing the prince by reciting, to his great delight, strings of nonsense verse,—tirades that have a curious resemblance both in metre and manner to modern "Mother Goose" rimes such as "Who killed Cock Robin?" (cf. especially ll. 1828–32, 1834–40).

The presence of two contrasted types of the domestic fool in *Magnificence* is of considerable significance for the vexed question of the origin and early history of the "Vice." This term is not used by Skelton in its technical sense. Cushman, who attempts to identify the Vice of most of the early moralities, regards *Magnificence* as lacking the figure altogether. But Cushman draws his conception of the Vice solely from its use in later moralities, and is puzzled by the application in Heywood's *Weather* and *Love* (cf. p. 67: "But the question still remains, how came the term to be applied to the buffoon in John Heywood's *Play of the Weather?* It has been maintained, for example, by Swoboda, *John Heywood als Dramatiker*, p. 60, that Heywood borrowed the character of his buffoon from the Moralities. Perhaps so, but certainly not the name, for as already shown the name first occurs in a Morality twenty years later." It is difficult to see the force of the last remark.) Since these are the first extant occurrences of the term by at least twenty years, it would certainly seem more logical to take them as the starting-point in a study of its use and origin. Its absence in the early moralities is certainly no proof that they did not contain the figure which it named. For a morality to use the term "the Vice" in its text would have been as unnatural as for a novel to speak of one of its own characters as "the villain." The preservation of the word even in Heywood is largely an accident; it occurs, not in his text, but in one case appended to his list of characters, in the other in a chance stage-direction. But the casual, matter-of-course way in which he uses it shows that the Vice was a perfectly familiar dramatic figure. The question whether such a figure or figures occur in *Magnificence* must be settled by examining Heywood's Vices, Mery Report and Neither Lover Nor Loved, and inquiring whether *Magnificence* can show anything analogous. Such an examination reveals a decided similarity between Heywood's Vices and Skelton's Fools.

The specialization of the humor of *Magnificence* in the two *rôles* of Fancy and Folly finds its exact parallel in *Weather* and *Love*. Mery Report and Neither Lover Nor Loved are the buffoons of their respective plays. On them rests the duty of amusing the audience by all sorts of jokes and horseplay. Mery Report is assisted in this task by the clownish figures of the Wind Miller, the Water Miller, and the Launder; but these, like Courtly Abusion and the rest in *Magnificence*, are types of classes, and their humor is largely satirical in aim. Very close, again, is the resemblance between Fancy's manner of entering in *Magnificence*, which we have seen reflected all the traditional licence of the fool, and the entrance of the Vices in *Love* and *Weather*. In *Love*, at l. 302, Neither Lover Nor Loved comes in, interrupting the speaker, Lover Loved, with the rude salutation:

"Nowe god you good euyn, Mayster Woodcock.
LOUER LOUED. Cometh of rudenesse or lewdnesse that mock?
NO LOUER NOR LOUED. Come wherof it shall, ye come of such stock,
That god you good euyn, Mayster Woodcock.
LOUER LOUED. This loseli by lyke hath lost his wit."
(Cf. also ll. 377, 8, 402.)

Mery Report enters in similar impudent fashion in *Weather*, at l. 99:

"Now, I beseche you, my lorde, loke on me furste;
I truste your lordshyp shall not fynde me the wurste.
JUPYTER. Why! what arte thou that approchyst so ny?
MERY-REPORTE. Forsothe, and please your lordshyppe, it is I.
JUPYTER. All that we know very well; but what I?
MERY-REPORTE. What I? Some saye I am I perse I;
But what maner I so ever be I,
I assure your good lordshyp, I am I.
JUPYTER. What maner man arte thou? shewe quickely.
MERY-REPORTE. By God, a poore gentylman, dwellyth hereby.
JUPYTER. A gentylman! Thyselfe bryngeth wytnes naye,
Both in thy lyght behavour and araye."

Cf. also ll. 130–132. The approach of Mery Report to Jupiter, as a burlesque suitor for a place in the royal service, duplicates exactly the approach of Fancy to Magnificence in scene 6. There is even less reference to costume by Heywood than by Skelton, and without the parallel of Fancy and Folly to help us we should be unable to maintain that Heywood's Vices were habited as fools. Mery Report, however, does certainly wear some dress distinctive for its frivolity. In the lines above (and ll. 113–116), Jupiter objects to the "lyghtness" of his apparel; and in ll. 133, 4, Mery Report defends himself:

"And syns your entent is but for the wethers,
What skyls our apparell to be fryse or fethers?"

We have no clue to the costume of Neither Lover Nor Loved, except perhaps the fool's purse (l. 1257); he is, however, constantly referred to as "this fole" (ll. 1270, 1293, etc), "this nody" (ll. 798, 1282); and he describes one of the duties of his *rôle* as follows (l. 404):

"Till tyme I perceyve this woodcok commyng,
My part herof sholde pas euyn in mummyng."

We are then certainly justified in regarding Fancy and Folly as the dramatic ancestors of Heywood's two Vices; and consequently of identifying them as the Vices of *Magnificence*.

Such an identification receives further support from a comparison of Fancy and Folly with other and later recognized Vices. Both of the two comic devices noted above as employed by Folly, inconsequent answers and nonsense, are included by Cushman among the distinctive motives used by the Vices in the comical parts of their *rôles* (pp. 104, 5; 108–12); cf. especially the distorted echo as used by Nichol Newfangle in *Like Will to Like*, Sin in *All for Money*, and Inclination in *Trial of Treasure*, and the nonsensical tirades of Courage in *Tide Tarrieth for No Man*, Haphazard in *Appius and Virginia*, and, still more noteworthy, of Ignorance in *Four Elements* and Ambidexter in *King Cambyses*. Cushman's citation (p. 105) from *Richard III* in this connection seems to show that such verbal tricks had become in Shakspere's day the essential mark of the "Vice" figure. Still another motive on Cushman's list, the absurdity or irrelevant statement (pp. 111, 12), illustrated from the armory of Ambidexter, Inclination, Sin, Haphazard, and Iniquity, is constantly used by both Fancy and Folly; cf. ll. 298, 607, 988, 1050, 1051, 1053, 1059, 1121, 1124, 1164, 1298, 1814, 1823, 1825, 1832, 1836.

This identification carries with it another. If Skelton's Fools are Vices, Heywood's Vices must also have been Fools. They were fools rather of the type of Folly than of Fancy, that is, fools artificial or professional jesters. And if this is so, the earlier identification of the dramatic *rôles* of the fool and Vice is immensely strengthened. Cushman has disputed this view, or regards the identification as a confusion "in the period of deterioration of the Moralities, probably after 1560" (p. 68), of two characters originally distinct (see also pp. 64, 120, 125, 145; and so Gayley, pp. xlvi–liv). In *Magnificence*, however, — and besides *Magnificence*, probably in Medwall's lost *Interlude of the Finding of*

Truth, in which (Collier I. 69, quoted by Chambers II. 201, 442) the "foolys part was the best"—we find the fool playing a prominent part in the morality at the beginning of the century, and adopted by Heywood, who gives him a title apparently also adopted from the morality, the "Vice."

Cushman's theory of the "Vice," valuable as much of it is, is open to the objection of being based principally on the Vice figures so called after 1550. These later moralities are in many respects less advanced in their dramatic technique than those of Skelton's and Heywood's period. The morality lost its place in the forefront of dramatic progress after 1550. The specimens that still continued to be written were constrained by the presence of rival types of drama to confine themselves strictly within their own bounds, and even to surrender ancestral territory newly usurped. They were survivals. Instead of making further progress along the lines that had been thrown out by Skelton and Heywood, and passing completely, for instance, from abstractions to types, they became reactionary, nor did they always retreat in a straight line. Generalizations, drawn from these degenerate examples, which neglect the period when the morality was the living and leading type, are liable to be as erroneous as generalizations from their contemporary miracle plays would be for the classical miracle.

But in avoiding Cushman's unjustifiable rejection of the Fool-element in the *rôle* of the "Vice," we shall try not to lose sight of its other element, the Deadly Sin, or vice in its original sense. Cushman has indeed emphasized this too much in defining the "Vice" (p. 63) as "the summation of the Deadly Sins." The definition is true enough for some later vices,—Infidelity, Wager's *Mary Magdalene*, 1567; Sin, *All for Money*, 1578; Iniquity, *Nice Wanton*, 1560; Iniquity, *King Darius*, 1565—and Iniquity seems to have been to Shakspere the Vice's regular name; but there is not the smallest symptom of a "summation of the Deadly Sins" about the two earliest vices, those of Heywood, nor yet about Skelton's Fancy and Folly. The derivation is not so mechanical as such a definition would seem to make it. Yet it exists. The ultimate origin of all the "Vices" in the vices of the earlier moral plays is proved by one circumstance,—their invariably allegorical names. Mery Report, in *Weather*, has the only abstract name of the play, although there is nothing of the abstraction about his character. The only satisfactory explanation, too, of the term "Vice" itself, as Pollard admits, is the obvious one.

The progressive combination of these two aspects of the "Vice's"

character, each of which in turn, in Heywood and in the later moralities, dwarfs the other, remains to be traced through the moral plays in our second division. We may note here how in *Magnificence*, as is the case with so many other dramatic features, the two are pretty evenly balanced. Its "Vices," Fancy and Folly, as we have seen, are carefully drawn fools; but they also fit into the allegorical scheme of the play, and it is important not to neglect this side of their portraiture. Fancy, or capricious self-indulgence, is the cardinal sin of the play; when Magnificence yields to that, all his subsequent degradation follows as a natural result. Its last stage is the embracing of Folly.

The allegorical value of the character Folly is also brought out in a different and special way, a way peculiar in that it makes Folly actively instead of passively vicious without turning him into a type,—or in other words, gives him personality of exactly the kind possessed by the Devil and his fellows in the infernal Trinity, the World and the Flesh, one or more of whom appear in most of the earlier plays. After Folly has played the Fool and demonstrated his ability to befool his accomplices, and before he comes on as the abstract vice of folly to body forth visibly the hero's degradation, he appears in a brief but important passage (ll. 1214–1304) as a conception of still a third order,—King Folly, who reigns throughout the world, and in the hearts of all men (l. 1215),—

> "For be he cayser or be he kynge,
> To felowshyp with Foly I can hym brynge."

He proceeds to tell of his "scolys," and his manner of securing recruits for them; specifying certain individuals with whom his hearers declare they are quite familiar. Among these allusions is an evident reference to the great Cardinal. But this historical allusion, as well as the meaning of the *rôle* that Folly here briefly assumes, must be elsewhere discussed. We shall see that this aspect of Folly's complex part, and also the "Vice" *rôle* proper of both Fancy and Folly, can be adequately explained only through a study of the dramatic parallels.

IX. Satire.

(For bibliography see note on p. xxii.)

Our preceding discussion has shown nothing unless it has shown the presence throughout *Magnificence* of a compelling practical purpose. Its adaptation of the traditional morality plot, its innovations in the traditional cast, its adoption of novel sources for theme and motives, its altered method of characterization, are all mysteries to be unlocked by a

single key,—its political application. For obvious reasons, however, nowhere in the play is this application made explicit. Skelton's primary concern was certainly with the internal politics of the time; but it is from a chance reference to external affairs that we are enabled, most fortunately, to date the play. Indeed, so cautious are his allusions that there has been no agreement among scholars who have attempted to interpret them. Ten Brink (*Gesch. des engl. Litt.*, II. 480) explained the hero Magnificence as an allegorical portrait of Henry VIII in the reckless expenditure of his earlier years, but went no further into detail. In the *Mod. Lang. Notes*, as we have seen above, Mr. Hooper pointed out the connection of Wolsey with the play, but by a misconception of certain terms and passages was led to affirm that its hero himself was meant to be a portrait of the Cardinal. Finally Koelbing (*Zur Charakteristik John Skeltons*, Stuttgart, 1904; pp. 32, 151), admitting as possible a mild satirical allusion to Henry, thinks it unlikely that Skelton attacked Wolsey so early, and is inclined in general to minimize the personal application. Obviously the problem will bear a closer scrutiny.

Three of the conclusions that we have already reached need to be kept in mind in seeking its solution. First, the play reflects conditions, so far as it does reflect them, as they existed at approximately the date 1516. If we examine the historical material from this fixed point, we shall escape many of the difficulties of trying to locate an undated play. Secondly, the characters of the play are certainly not to be interpreted as personal portraits. At best they are types of more or less simple qualities, good or evil, which might each be shared by many real persons, or a number of which might well be united in one real person. Even Magnificence is not the portrait of a person, although in drawing it a single person was clearly in mind; on its face it is a class-type of the traditional sort. Such personal adaptation as it has was superadded, and no obligation was felt to carry this beyond a certain point. Hence we must try to identify the characters of the play, not with the personages of contemporary history, as we should in the work of a later dramatic satirist like Lyly, but with the characteristics that Skelton would have assigned to contemporary personages or parties. Thirdly, it is only in the adapted elements of the play, or, in other words, where the older morality form has been secularized, that we need look for a secular application. Thus we may exclude altogether the fifth stage, which is merely the conventional theological close, the three "graces," Good Hope, Redress, and Perseverance, and the two "diabolical figures" Despair and Mischief, all of which convey old theological conceptions. We must include those elements

which show wholly or partly either the Aristotelian or the Brantian inspiration. These are, in the first place, the hero Magnificence with his two attendants Wealth, or Felicity, and Liberty, who are later exchanged for Adversity and Poverty, and, in the second place, the two contending parties, consisting of those characters which I have called the six "vices proper" and the two "virtues proper."

Stated in these terms, the problem is susceptible of a definite answer. To a spectator of 1516 who was acquainted with the character of the English monarch as it had impressed itself on his contemporaries during the first seven years of his reign, and also with the party-relations at the English court as they had so far worked themselves out, there could have been no doubt of the play's political application. Such a spectator must have instantly recognized in its central figure constant allusion to the openhanded Henry with the wealth of his earlier years and the self-will that always remained his dominant trait, and in its "vices" and "virtues" the alleged qualities of the two parties that had been fighting bitterly almost since the reign began,—one the party of young favorites and counsellors of whom Wolsey, now at the height of his power, had become leader and chief representative, the other the party of the old nobility headed by the Duke of Norfolk, which had just suffered its worst defeat. If, furthermore, he had known Skelton himself and Skelton's political affiliations, he would have found his attitude toward the two parties, and especially toward their leaders, entirely natural. We can share in some measure the vision of such an onlooker by comparing the play with some of the contemporary documents that have come down to us.

The character of the prince in the play, it is worth noting, although necessarily condemned for "hasty credence," is always treated with considerable respect. He is wilful and often boastful, but withal noble-spirited and generous; too credulous, but misled by bad advisers and finally obedient to good ones. He is put in possession of Wealth, and at the same time of Liberty or power; he is induced to abuse the latter and loses the former. The applicability of all this to Henry hardly needs proof. Accounts of the early years of his reign are full of reflections of the impression produced by his wealth and lavish expenditure. Mountjoy's letter to Erasmus on his accession (cf. Pollard's *Henry V*, p. 30) shows the enthusiasm aroused by expectations of his generosity: "The heavens laugh, the earth exults, all things are full of milk, of honey, of nectar! Avarice is expelled the country. Liberality scatters wealth with a bounteous hand. Our King does not desire gold or gems or precious metals, but virtue, glory, immortality." The same year saw the

eulogy of Barclay on Henry's liberality, already quoted (see p. lxxxvii), which furnishes an even more striking parallel to Skelton's terminology. A more precise estimate of Henry's wealth is given by Herbert, in speaking of the influence wielded at the beginning of his reign by the Duke of Norfolk (p. 10): "his very Place of Lord Treasurer (which he held ever since the 16 of Henry VII) made him much in Request; as one who both kept and dispensed that Mass of Wealth left by Henry VII; which, if we may believe Authors, was 1,800,000 Pounds Sterling. A greater Sum doubtless than any King of this Realm before had in his Coffers: and such as might be thought effectively quadruple to so much in this Age." These expectations were more than fulfilled during the seven years that elapsed before the date of our play. Brewster (I. 230) sums up in the year 1516 as follows: "Hitherto Henry's reign had been one of uninterrupted prosperity. He was the most popular, the most wealthy, the most envied of monarchs. . . . Possessed of vast royal demesnes, he could gratify his love of pleasure, his taste, his magnificence, without stint. . . . His rule formed a striking contrast to that of the impoverished Maximilian, and the famished and grasping policy of Charles."

A few years later the picture presented was a very different one. History had unrolled itself in a way that afforded ample justification for Skelton's warning. Henry's Felicity had indeed consisted in his Wealth; and it was stolen away with almost the very consequences predicted by the poet. Pollard (p. 173), in discussing the reasons for the final failure of Wolsey's policy, finds the main one in the failure of his master's wealth: "Wolsey's policy was, indeed, an anachronism; with a pre-eminent genius for diplomacy, he thought he could make England, by diplomacy alone, arbiter of Europe. Its position in 1521 was artificial; it had not the means to support a grandeur which was only built on the wealth left by Henry VII and on Wolsey's skill. England owed her advance in repute to the fact that Wolsey made her the paymaster of Europe. 'The reputation of England for wealth,' said an English diplomatist in 1522, 'is a great cause of the esteem in which it is held.' But, by 1523, that wealth had failed; Parliament refused to levy more taxes, and Wolsey's pretensions collapsed like a pack of cards."

In 1516, no special insight was needed to see the danger. Henry's treasury was not quite exhausted, it is true, but the bottom of the chest was beginning to appear. That very year saw what must have seemed the most reckless expenditure of the reign, in the vast sums squandered in subsidizing Maximilian and the Swiss against the French in the ill-fated

Milan expedition, in which England was completely duped. Brewer (I. 226) brings this out more clearly than could the most laborious description by citing from the "King's Books of Payments" the totals for 1512–1517. The sum total of all expenditures in 1512 was 286,269 l.; in 1513 it rose to 699,714 l.; in 1510 it declined to 155,757 l. These were years of war and foreign invasion. The next three years, when there was undisturbed peace, show the account as follows: 1515, 74,007 l.; 1516, 130,779 l.; 1517, 78,887 l. The year 1516 thus presented a budget nearly twice as great as its predecessor, and closely approaching a year of war.

The identification of Magnificence with Henry carries with it the identification of the vices and virtues in the play with the two contending parties at court, the party of prodigality and the party of economy. But independently the same result may be reached by a comparison with the history. As in the case of the hero, the correspondence lies first in the characterization of the contestants, then in the plot, or the actions ascribed to them; and these two divisions must be taken separately.

Skelton's characterization of the party he attacks is much more detailed than of the one he approves: there are six vices, Fancy and Folly and the four court-types, over against but two virtues proper, one of whom does not appear till the end of the play. It is also more personal. Although, as we have postulated, none of the six can be regarded as a personal portrait, several of the qualities they personify are significantly qualities of a person rather than of a party. This is not surprising when we find that what I have called the party of prodigality at court consisted, in fact, and still more in Skelton's view, of one man—Cardinal Wolsey. Accordingly, the six vices are to be regarded as all mainly intended as vehicles for satire against Wolsey, although here and there others were certainly also in Skelton's mind. Each in turn gave an opportunity for scornful allusion to some defect in his character and policy. In Fancy we have the recklessness, in Folly the unwisdom of his financial policy. When Counterfeit Countenance enlarges on the fruitful theme of low-born upstarts, and Crafty Conveyance on perverters of justice, the Cardinal came at once to the spectators' mind. In Courtly Abusion we have the loose living, the extravagant dress, and the consummate flattery, in Cloaked Collusion the dissimulation and artful breeding of dissension, and alike in all the courtiers the quarrelsomeness, false courage, and habit of forgetting old friends, that Skelton wished to ascribe to Wolsey.

So extended an attack on Wolsey has not heretofore been suggested,

and Koelbing, as we have seen, ventured to question the application to him altogether. Koelbing's principal reason for doubting that Skelton began his warfare with Wolsey so early was the dedication to him that we find affixed to subsequent poems, thus apparently testifying to friendly relations at later periods. But Brie (pp. 11–13) has shown conclusively that the dedications have been wrongly placed in the positions they now occupy, if indeed they were ever written by the poet at all. And if they were, there is nothing in Skelton's character that shows him incapable of outward complaisance and formal flattery of his powerful enemy at the same time that he was composing disguised and anonymous attacks on him, just as Wolsey's bitterest foe, the Duke of Norfolk, conducted him to receive the Cardinal's cap at Westminster Abbey (Brewer, I. 272). The actual protection that a satirist might secure by using the morality form and avoiding names and explicit references is well shown in a later instance cited by Hall. Hall was of course violently prejudiced against Wolsey (*c.* Brewer, II. 50), and it would be easy to see through his partisan account how well the Cardinal was justified in his suspicions, even if we had not direct evidence from Foxe (*Acts and Monuments*, ed. Cattley, IV. 657) that Roo's play did contain matter against Wolsey. The morality here described as presented in 1526 is parallel in so many ways to *Magnificence* that the passage is worth citing in full (Hall, p. 719):

"This Christmas was a goodly disguisyng plaied at Greis inne, whiche was compiled for the moste part by master Ihon Roo, seriant at the law, xx. yere past, and long before the Cardinall had any auctoritie; the effecte of the plaie was that Lord Gouernance was ruled by Dissipacion and Negligence, by whose misgouernance and euill order Lady Publike Wele was put from Gouernance; which caused Rumor Populi, Inward Grudge, and Disdain of Wanton Souereignetie to rise with a greate multitude to expell Negligence and Dissipacion and to restore Publik Welth again to her estate, which was so done. This plaie was so set furth with riche and costly apparel, with straunge diuises of maskes and morrishes, that it was highly praised of alle menne, sauying of the Cardinall, whiche imagined that the plaie had been diuised of hym, and in a greate furie sent for the said Master Roo, and toke from hym his coyfe and sent hym to the Flete, and after he sent for the yong gentlemen that plaied in the plaie and them highly rebuked and thretened, and sent one of them called Thomas Moyle of Kent to the Flete; but by the meanes of frendes Master Roo and he wer deliuered at last. This plaie sore displeased the Cardinall, and yet it was neuer meante to hym, as you haue harde, wherfore many wise men grudged to see hym take it so hartely; and euer the

Cardinall saied that the Kyng was highly displeased with it, and spake nothyng of hymself."

Roo's play may well have been an old one, though we may accept twenty years as a convenient exaggeration. In 1516, however, when Wolsey had already been vigorously hated and denounced at court for at least five years, such a morality from a court-poet like Skelton was entirely natural. Unfortunately he did not adhere in his later satires to the caution of his initial one, or he might have escaped as lightly as John Roo, instead of dying in asylum. But there is nothing in the facts, either of history or of the poet's life, that precludes the view that *Magnificence* in 1516 was his opening gun in a campaign followed up by *Colin Clout* (1518–21), *Speak Parrot* (1519–25), *Why Come Ye Not to Court* (1522), the famous couplet on the Convocation of 1523, and very possibly *Queen Hester*.

The positive evidence that Skelton is aiming at Wolsey behind each of his six vices rests not only on the closeness with which in each case the cap fits him, but on the repetition of the charges in his later satires in nearly the same language and often with a personification of the same abstractions. *Magnificence* is thus bound into an unmistakable unity of purpose with these bolder attacks in which Wolsey is specifically named. This may be illustrated first by the passage of the play in which Skelton probably comes nearest to dropping his veil of reserve, though even here no names are mentioned; it is the tirade put in the mouth of Folly (ll. 1238–62; cf. above, p. cvi) describing certain among his servants, "come vp of nought" and "set in auctorite," who "waxyth so hy and prowde" that "all that he dothe muste be alowde"; such men, he informs his hearers, are "not ferre, and yf it were well sought," and they recognize the allusion, admitting mysteriously that they "knowe dyuerse that vseth the same"; and Folly goes on, gradually and somewhat ungrammatically passing into the singular number, to prophesy the early fall of this person. If it were possible to mistake the application here, we could not do so when we find the same description in the later satires aimed avowedly at Wolsey, and the same prophecy, which the poet died just too soon to see fulfilled: compare *Colin Clout*, ll. 585–614, 643–9, *Speak Parrot*, ll. 500, 501, for the one, and for the other *Colin Clout*, ll. 469–79 (the so-called "prophecy of Skelton"), 666–72, and 990–8. The last passage reads:

"It is a besy thyng
For one man to rule a kyng
Alone, and make rekenyng
To gouerne ouer all
And rule a realme royall

By one mannes verrey wyt; And whan he weneth to syt,
Fortune may chaunce to flyt, Yet may he mysse the quysshon."

Quite as manifestly intended for Wolsey is what may be called the new satire of the play. We have already seen (pp. lxxx–lxxxiv) how in *Magnificence* Skelton took his old material for general court satire used in the *Bowge of Court*, and condensed, reworked, and added to it to produce the four courtiers of the play. The changes that he made were evidently for Wolsey's benefit. He selected and added precisely those attributes that could most easily be charged against Wolsey and Wolsey's party. For instance, the figure of Counterfeit Countenance, which had no parallel in the *Bowge of Court* (cf. p. lxxxi), gives occasion for unlimited satire on the upstart; and Wolsey's low origin was the most common of all jibes used against him (cf. *Colin Clout*, ll. 586, 588, 647–9, *Speak Parrot*, l. 500, *Why Come Ye Not to Court*, ll. 295, 486–95, 533–75, 612–43). Similarly, the dishevelled and almost ragged rake Riot in the *Bowge of Court* is replaced (cf. p. lxxxii) in *Magnificence* by the rake Courtly Abusion, who is distinguished for the splendor and extravagance of his dress; and in this we find another universal charge against Wolsey (cf. *Colin Clout*, ll. 310–22, *Speak Parrot*, ll. 451–3, 510, *Why Come etc.*, ll. 1136–43).

But the Wolsey references cannot be restricted even to these elements, for there are equally cogent parallel ascriptions in the later satires for all six of the vices. The characteristics of Fancy and Folly are again and again imputed to him, and their opposites Measure and Circumspection are often mentioned as his opposites. Thus in *Speak Parrot*, ll. 410, 11, the oracular bird is asked:

> "Speke, Parotte, my swete byrde, and ye shall haue a date,
> Of Frantycknes and Folysshnes whyche ys the grett state?"

whereupon it answers (ll. 414–8):

> "Frantiknes dothe rule and all thyng commaunde;
> Wylfulnes and Braynles now rule all the raye;
> Agayne frentike Frenesy there dar no man sey nay;
> For Frantiknes and Wylfulnes and Braynles ensembyll,
> The nebbis of a lyon they make to trete and trembyll."

In *Why Come etc.*, ll. 101–7, we are told:

"Ther vayleth no Resonynge, Good Reason and good Skyll,
For Wyll dothe rule all thynge; They may garlycke pyll,
Wyll, Wyll, Wyll, Wyll, Wyll, Cary sackes to the myll," etc.
He ruleth alway styll.

And at ll. 1005–22:

"But as touchynge Dyscrecyon
With Sober Dyrectyon,
He kepeth them in subiectyon;
. . . But all must be tryde
And abyde the correctyon
Of his Wylfull Affectyon.
For as for Wytte,
The deuyll spede whitte!
But Braynsyk and Braynlesse,
Wytles and Rechelesse,
Careles and Shamlesse,
Thriftles and Gracelesse,
Together are bended
And so condyscended
That the Commune Welth
Shall neuer haue good helth."

Cf. also ll. 1–14. In the terms here used the familiar synonyms of the play are at once brought to mind; compare the list given above (pp. xxxii–xliv).

The four court-types are similarly grouped in a passage that might have been inserted into the play itself (*Why Come etc.*, ll. 844–62):

"Where Trouth is abhorde
It is a playne recorde
That there wantys grace;
In whose place
Dothe occupy,
Full vngracyously,
Fals Flatery [Cou. Ab.?]
Fals Trechery [Clo. Col.?]
Fals Brybery [Cra. Con.?]
Subtyle Sym Sly, [Cou. Cou.?]
With madde Foly;
For who can best lye,
He is best set by.
Then farewell to the,
Welthfull Felycite!
For Prosperyte
Away than wyll fle;
Than must we agre
With Pouerte."

Cf. also ll. 17–23, 569–75, and *Colin Clout*, ll. 1074–80. The different vicious propensities represented by each of the four might also be illustrated separately in many passages.

The evidence of Skelton's own later satires may be helpfully supplemented from other contemporary attacks on Wolsey. Of these perhaps the most helpful is Polydore Vergil's contemporary Latin history. Discredited as Polydore is by modern writers (cf. Brewer, I. 266) on account of his manifest personal prejudice against Wolsey, he is for that very reason the more valuable for our purpose; for he occupies almost exactly the same attitude toward events as Skelton does himself, although not quite so favorable to Norfolk. His description of the effect of prosperity on Wolsey is very like the conduct of Skelton's vices (scenes 13, 36, 37, especially ll. 2216–19) in similar circumstances (cited from the Basel edition, 1555; Book xxvii, p. 633 (italics are mine):

"Volsaeus per hunc modum magnam repente nactus potestatem coepit per licentiam rempublicam gerere, multa suo iure atque arbitrio agere; . . . qui breui permagnis affluens diuitiis, et autoritate simul florens, *animo statim effertur fitque plane superbus*, sic ut ad nobiles etiam uiros haud

multum haberet respectum; *neque amicos praesertim ueteres magni faciebat qui ad ipsum concurrebant, . . . quorum aliquos non libenter alloquebatur, aliquos uero ne intueri quidem uolebat,* quibuscum a pueritia coniunctissimus fuisset familiaritate, usu, consuetudineue. *Etenim prioris aetatis eius status non solum animus sed aures quoque a commemmoratione abhorrebant,* qui parentem habuit uirum probum at lanium, id quod reminisci nolebat."

(p. 645) "Hanc fortunae abundantiam habere in summa laude ponendum est, *si ad uiros illa graues, modestos, et temperatos affluat* et illabatur, *qui* se non efferunt in potestate, *non fiunt insolentes in pecuniis,* non se in bonis praeferunt aliis. Horum omnium nihil extitit in Volsaeo, qui, tot uno ferme tempore adeptis dignitatibus, *tantum superbiae animo concepit ut sese cum regibus exaequatum existimans coeperit mox uti sella aurea, uti puluino aureo, uti uelo aureo ad mensam,* habere galerum Cardinalium ordinis insignem loco cuiusdam idoli sacri, qui, cum ille pedibus iret, sublime a ministro praeferebatur, in sacelloque regio super altare collocabatur tantisper dum res fieret diuina."

Here we find Wolsey strutting in the fashion of Courtly Abusion (scene 14). A little later Polydore represents him as taking the same malicious pleasure in compassing the downfall of those who are noble and prosperous as is ascribed to Cloaked Collusion (scene 11) and illustrated in the betrayal of Measure (scene 25), in his alleged treatment of the Duke of Buckingham (cf. pp. 659, 660, 665, especially the following sentence from p. 660): "Heroes Angli inter haec cum suis cohortibus Londinum conueniunt, et cum primis Buchyngamiae dux cunctis rebus multo ornatissimus, *quem Volsaeus immane odium in eum ante conceptum dissimulanter continens humaniter aperte tractauit.*"

In the most important poetical satire on Wolsey outside of Skelton's own, Roy and Barlowe's *Rede me and be not wrothe,* the Cardinal is also conceived in the likeness of Courtly Abusion, Cloaked Collusion, and Counterfeit Countenance. Dissolute life, a frequent charge against Wolsey, but one that Skelton, perhaps for reasons of his own, does not press outside of *Magnificence,* is in this poem made a chief feature (*Arber Reprints,* pp. 50, 51, 53, 58); and extravagance in dress also reappears. Treachery and mischief-making are ascribed to Wolsey with specific instances (p. 50). Throughout the satire the taunt of low birth is reiterated (pp. 20, 52, 53, 57). One form of this latter furnishes an especial parallel to *Magnificence* that has as yet been unnoted. In a stanza of Counterfeit Countenance's monologue (ll. 480–6), we are told mysteriously of a certain carter, "that with his whyp his mares was wonte

to yarke," who tries to counterfeit the courtier. The allusion would remain dark, since Wolsey is elsewhere spoken of as butcher or butcher's son, not as carter, did we not find him expressly called twice in *Rede me and be not wrothe* "the carter of Yorcke" (pp. 20, 52). The taunt must then have been a common one, and perhaps applied to some early passage of Skelton's life.

Another contemporary Wolsey-satire must not be overlooked at this point, for it shows a closer parallelism to *Magnificence* than any yet discussed. The fact that *Queen Hester* is indeed a satire against Wolsey, as first pointed out by W. W. Greg in the recent edition of that play (*Queene Hester*, ed. W. W. Greg, *Materialien z. k. ält. engl. dramas*, bd. V., 1904), admits of no doubt. In addition to allusions mentioned by Greg and by Brie (p. 33), the declaration by the Tertius Generosus (ll. 78–93) that personal justice, not delegated, is needed from the king, is evidently directed at Wolsey; and the remark (ll. 282–6), that the Queen must be prepared to rule wisely the common weal when war calls the king with his Council to be absent from the realm, seems like a reminiscence of the French campaign of 1513, when Queen Katherine, left to a large extent in charge of the government, was, as Brewster says (I. 30), the "soul of the enterprize" against the Scots that ended at Flodden. Greg's further suggestion that *Queen Hester* is Skelton's has much in its favor and nothing, except the absence of positive proof, that can be urged against it. Brie's objection, that it is not Skeltonic in metre, is surely overhasty. The metrical technique seems nearly the same as that of *Magnificence*, though less complicated: the same lines and half-lines, largely the same strophe-forms, and exactly the same principle of varying the metre to characterize different scenes. The court-fool Hardydardy also presents a striking parallel to the two fools of *Magnificence;* he speaks similarly of his "fooles cote" (l. 690), thus confirming the professional interpretation given of that expression in the morality (see above, p. xlvi), and uses much the same comic devices. A passage at the beginning (ll. 29–35) is very nearly a direct reference to *Magnificence:*

> "how vice did confuse
> Many noble princes whiche were in dede
> Of such magnificence that we not nede
> To doubt of theyre riches, power, and wisdome;
> And yet for lacke of vertue vice them ouer came."

This is followed by a list of Biblical and classical examples in the same manner as the list in *Magnificence* (*Magn.*, ll. 1457–1514).

Queen Hester would, furthermore, fit nicely into the series of Skelton's

satires. Logically, though not necessarily chronologically, it would belong just after *Magnificence*. The *Bowge of Court* adapts the courtly allegory to the purposes of satire, and *Magnificence* the dramatic allegory or morality; we might well expect an attempt to adapt the other dramatic form, the miracle, to the same purpose. And this is what we find in *Queen Hester*. Surely if not by Skelton himself, it was composed by one who thoroughly shared his literary point of view.

The miracle at any rate affords a parallel and a confirmation to some of the applications to Wolsey that we have found in the morality. Pride, who has surrendered to Aman all his own goodly apparel (ll. 368–81), and Adulation, who tells how Aman has "turned law into flattering" (l. 404), repeat the two chief features of the character of Courtly Abusion; and Ambition, who explains how Aman has caught every office and fee and kept them for himself, evidently makes him out a close relation of Cloaked Collusion (cf. *Magn.* scene 26). Hardydardy shows Aman to be as great a fool as himself (ll. 662 ff.), just as Folly in the passage cited above reports he has done for the "knave" so recently "set in auctorite."

It would be surprising if Skelton found no one else to abuse in the play but Wolsey; for even in his later and bitterer attacks he nowhere refrains from occasional digressions from the main object to touch sharply upon one or more of his numerous other enemies. Doubtless there were others beside Wolsey in the reckless youthful group that surrounded the king, whom the king's old tutor looked upon with disapproving eyes; and doubtless Wolsey did not then so completely overshadow his adherents in the council and court as he does to us to-day. But in only one passage of the play is it certain that Skelton has other individuals in mind. In Folly's harangue, after exposing as mentioned above the upstart so recently set in authority, he goes on at the request of his delighted hearers to tell them (ll. 1263–78) of "dyuerse mo that hauntyth my scolys," especially

> "two lyther, rude and ranke,
> Symkyn Tytyuell and Pers Pykthanke,"

who are always spying and reporting to the "sufferayne" conversations overheard, and if possible making the matter "mykyll worse than it is." Who these two treacherous individuals were, from whom possibly the poet or some of his patrons considered that they had suffered, it would be impossible to guess. The enemies must have occupied a similar position to Christopher Garnesche, whom Skelton attacked in the surviving poems written about this period (according to Brie, 1514–1518). It could hardly have been Garnesche who is here attacked, however, for

among all his accusations against that knight Skelton nowhere accuses him of gossiping or poisoning the king's ear. More probably the persons here nicknamed Symkyn Tytyuell and Pers Pykthanke are the same as those attacked in *Against Venomous Tongues* (Dyce, I. 132–6). This curious production was evidently composed in close connection with *Magnificence*. The metre is similar, long-line couplets intermingled with the leash; and the poem is not more loosely constructed than is usual with Skelton, although Dyce's printing of the Latin glosses in the text makes it appear so. It is really a continuous poem, and the lines should be numbered consecutively. Koelbing (p. 57) is certainly wrong in calling it a general satire; it evidently relates to some definite occasion when meddlers had slandered Skelton to some "noble man." Skelton's defence is merely an expansion of the rebuke in Folly's harangue. Two passages are especially close to *Magnificence*. The first, ridiculing the triviality of the ill-reports brought against him, suggests Fancy (p. 132):

> "For ye said that he said that I said,—wote ye what?
> 'I made,' he said, 'a windmil of an olde mat!'
> If there be none other mater but that,
> Than ye may commaunde me to gentil Cok Wat."

Compare the soliloquy of Fancy, ll. 1028, 9. Another passage is a still closer echo of the scene in *Magnificence* where Courtly Abusion and Cloaked Collusion betray the confidence of Measure to slander him to his lord (p. 134):

> "Such tunges vnhappy hath made great diuision
> In realmes, in cities, by suche fals Abusion;
> Of fals fickil tunges suche Cloked Collusion
> Hath brought nobil princes to extreme confusion."

To how large an extent Skelton meant to include other members of the hostile party as exemplifying his six vices, we cannot be certain; but this comparison is enough to show that he did not neglect them altogether.

The favored party is dealt with much less elaborately. Until the last stage, it is represented solely by Measure, an old and trusted adviser. Measure remains in charge of the prince's wealth until deposed through the slander and deceit of the vices, which he is unable to overcome on account of his very honesty and simplicity. The other virtue, Circumspection, though mentioned in Stage I with great respect, remains absent till after the prince's downfall.

No effort has yet been made to identify the historical figure or figures thus characterized. Yet if the prince and the one party can be

identified it should be possible to find the other party. In spite of the comparative slightness of the portrait, I believe that this identification can also be made, and that it throws a valuable light on the genesis of the play and on the poet's whole life.

At the word Circumspection there must at once have leaped to the mind of the Tudor spectator the thought of Henry VII and his policy. It was indeed by the complete contrast to his father's remembered habits that Henry VIII acquired his initial reputation for extraordinary liberality. Those who, like Mountjoy and Barclay, approved of the son's policy, condemned the father for avarice and greed; and Hall thinks it necessary formally to defend him from the charge. Skelton, however, evidently found this a trait that met his entire approbation; in his Latin Elegy (dated 1512) he speaks expressly in words that reveal the attitude he was already taking (see Dyce I. 178):

> "Immensas sibi divitias cumulasse quid horres?
> Ni cumulasset opes, forte, Britanne, luas. . . .
> Ni sua te probitas *consulta mente* laborans
> Rexisset satius, vix tibi tuta salus."

To a somewhat later observer the name of Henry VII was also almost a synonym for circumspection (cf. the passage from Eliot's *Gouernour* quoted above, p. lxxviii).

It is of course the spirit merely of the king's father that is suggested in Skelton's play; and that spirit is embodied, as it was in actual history, in the old counsellors whom the young prince finds around him. Henry VIII, like Magnificence, began his reign under the tutelage of a body of old and conservative counsellors: Archbishop Warham, Thomas Howard Earl of Surrey, Bishops Fox and Fisher, and others of lesser note, all of whom were inherited from the council of his father. Of these the Earl of Surrey, afterward Duke of Norfolk, was more particularly in charge of his purse, being Lord High Treasurer. He held this office till his death, and bequeathed it to his son, the third Duke of Norfolk. Norfolk more than any one else must have been in Skelton's mind in drawing his characters Measure and Circumspection.

The Howards were perhaps the one most persistent element in all the history of Henry's reign. With varying fortunes and many defeats they yet outlasted all their enemies. Three generations appeared on the stage during the reign. The Thomas Howard whom Henry found at the head of the Council on his accession was already in his sixty-sixth year, and had served under Edward IV, Richard III, and, after a three years'

sojourn in the Tower, under Henry VII, who had first taken away and then restored to him the Earldom of Surrey. He had yet sufficient energy to win the battle of Flodden, for which he was made Duke of Norfolk in 1514. His son, Thomas Howard II, was at the same time created Earl of Surrey, and in 1524 by his father's death succeeded as Duke of Norfolk, handing on to his son, Henry Howard the poet, the title of Earl of Surrey. The dramatic story of the end of the reign, when Surrey was executed for treason and his father Norfolk escaped with a few hours' margin, by the old king's death, is well known. We are concerned in discussing the play only with the first two Howards, in 1516 Duke of Norfolk and Earl of Surrey respectively. Both were bitter enemies of Wolsey, and both grounded their enmity chiefly on the question of extravagance. The party of economy found in them its centre, just as Wolsey came on his rise to power to head the party of liberality.

We have thus shown a correspondence in characteristics between Skelton's vices and virtues and the two opposing parties, as Skelton would have seen them. Equally close is the correspondence in plot, between the fictitious contest described in the play and the actual contest at court in the years from 1509 till 1516. This period of Henry's reign may easily be viewed as an uninterrupted struggle, with varying fortune, between the two parties in the Council headed respectively by Wolsey and Norfolk. In spite of the wealth of information about Henry's reign, we have nowhere a consecutive account of this struggle, which really made the policy of the reign; but we have sufficient material to trace its inception and its principal crises. Here again Polydore's history, through its very unfairness, is closer to the standpoint doubtless occupied by Skelton himself than anything else we possess, though it needs correction and amplification from the contemporary documents collected by Brewer, and from other authorities.

In the play, the methods used by the prodigal advisers to gain a foothold at court, and afterward to oust the defender of a wiser policy, are narrated with some minuteness. A number of points are emphasized that seem quite unmeaning unless we are to look beneath the abstract allegory. In the first place, in describing the ingress of Fancy and his crew, a curious prominence is given to their connection with France; cf. Fancy's reference to King Louis and his seemingly irrelevant account of his experiences on the French coast, both of which have already been discussed in other connections; Courtly Abusion is also represented as coming from France (l. 878), and Counterfeit Countenance swears "by

the armes of Calys" (l. 675). Wolsey, of course, came from France when he first entered the king's service, having been for four years (1503–7) in the service of Sir Richard Nanfan, deputy of Calais. This fact was used by some to account for the pro-French policy that he always affected, whereas Norfolk sided throughout with German interests (see Brewer, I. 258, note). Skelton's expressions can hardly be explained unless intended in some such way as a personal allusion.

Polydore's account of Wolsey's first rise to power has a number of other suggestive points for the reader of *Magnificence*. He traces it back to the jealousy existing between Norfolk, then Surrey, and another old councillor, Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester. Compare the following from Book xxvii (p. 621) (italics are mine):

". . . ad duos, Ricardum Vintoniensem episcopum et Thomam comitem Surrae eius administratio peruenit, qui inter se secretas habebant simultates, quas autoritatis aemulatio in dies singulos magis magisque augebat. . . . Ista Vintoniensi uisa sunt eo breui tempore euasura, ut comes primas apud principem teneret omnino nisi mature obuiam conatibus eius praeiretur, id quod sibi modis omnibus faciundum deliberauit. . . . (p. 632). Erat in familia regia Thomas Volsaeus sacerdos diuinis literis non indoctus, unus ex eo numero qui quotidie coram principe rem diuinam faciebant, homo sagax, idem et audax, ac ad quidlibet agendum multo paratissimus. Hunc Vintoniensis, *quanquam ei non bene satis cognitum, ut par est credere,* putauit idoneum quem ad latus principis adiungeret . . . Haec Volsaeus non surdis audiuit auribus, qui in eam protinus spem uenit, ut iam tum profiteretur se omnes certe uias persecuturum quibus ad id quod uolebat peruenire posset, *ad efficiendum ut comes ab omni curatione et administratione rerum deinceps uacaret*, si semel apud regem locum obtineret ex quo uoces quas missurus esset ad eius aures perduci ac sine interprete percipi possent. Quibus rebus constitutis, Vintoniensis paucis post diebus Volsaeum *praefectum largitionis regiae* inopibus hominibus faciendae, quem eleemosynarium dicunt, creandum, et in numerum consiliariorum regis adscribendum, adsciscendum, in consiliumque cum primis adhibendum curat."

Wolsey was thus introduced, just as Fancy with his letter, through an old councillor, who might have been expected to have more circumspection, and whom Polydore hints was deceived in him. He set out with the determination of driving Surrey from the chief oversight of Henry's business, just as Fancy plots with his associates (l. 568) "that Mesure were cast out of the dores." Further, the *alias* Largess, under which Fancy introduces himself, and which is not an Aristotelian term as

are the parallel names, may have been a hint at Wolsey's first office of Almoner (*praefectum largitionis regiae*).

Again, the arguments used in the play by Fancy and the others to seduce the prince, which are given with notable particularity, are much the same as those put into Wolsey's mouth by Polydore. Fancy deprecates over-serious attention to business (ll. 283–7); Folly amuses him with nonsense and jokes (ll. 1803–42); Courtly Abusion charms him with his polished flattery (ll. 1525–40), and argues at length for indulgence in base pleasures (ll. 1545–69); and Cloaked Collusion urges the wisdom of selecting two or three favorites and entrusting to them the supreme power, to the exclusion of the rest (ll. 1768–96). Cf. Polydore (p. 632):

"Atqui Volsaeus ubi eam praefecturam est adeptus, et iam ad latus principis adhaerescere coepit, mirum dictu est quantum breui gratus acceptusque fuerit ei et iuuenum cohorti quam ille in delitiis habebat; nam homo facetus, tam persona sacerdotali abiecta quam nulla grauitatis ratione habita, saepenumero cum illis adolescentibus una psallebat, saltabat, *sermones leporis plenos habebat, ridebat, iocabatur, ludebat;* at extra iocum, regi grandia de se pollicebatur, *quod, ut remotis arbitris commodius ageret, domi suae uoluptatum omnium sacrarium fecit,* quo regem frequenter ducebat, ibi eius auribus inculcabat, instillabat, iterabatque, *rem publicam per multos rectores male se habere,* cum pro se quisque suo commodo inseruiret, *sed, si sibi summa rerum administrandarum crederetur, non dubitandum quin longe melius cum rebus publicis ageretur,* sine molestia principis, *quem potius deceret in flore suae aetatis animum literis ac interdum honestis uoluptatibus delectare quam affligere curis.* Haec et eiusmodi identidem memorando in eam spem iuuenem impulit, ut sibi persuaderet *procurationem gubernandi regni tutius uni quam pluribus ac alteri quam sibi committi licere,* donec adesset maturitas aetatis; et iam tum eum rebus gerendis praefecit."

Brewer supports this account of the part played by Wolsey's wit in his fortunes (I. 61): "Beneath the malice of his personal enemies it is easy to trace the more obvious traits of his person and character. He was extremely popular in his manners; offended the older courtiers of the last reign by his wit, and by the absence of that reserved and solemn demeanour which, we can readily believe, was acceptable at the court of Henry VII." And in two passages of *Queen Hester*, Assuerus compliments Aman on his "pullyshyd langage" in the same way as Magnificence does Courtly Abusion in the passage cited above (ll. 1525–40; cf. *Queen Hester*, l. 611):

"Aman, we harde wyth deliberation,
Vttered and pronounsed by language cleane,
A very elygante and prudente oracion
Of you as euer to fore was seene."
(758) "My lorde Aman, we haue harde ryght well
All your oration, which is so elegante
And so well towched that nedes we muste fele
And perceyue your minde, your wordes be so pregnante."

The one object of Fancy and his crew is to expel Measure from among the prince's advisers (ll. 566–8, 656–61); and they succeed in doing this after much chiding and debate (ll. 938–54, 1315–18). When he makes an effort to return, he is again betrayed and ignominiously cast out. Precisely the same thing befel Norfolk (then Surrey) under Wolsey's instigation. The old noble was first cast out of the council in 1512, not long after Wolsey's entrance, and just before the war with France began, as we learn from a letter written by Wolsey himself to Fox, Sept. 30, 1512 (summarized by Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, I. 3443; cf. *D. N. B.*, Thomas Howard I.): "My Lord Treasurer (Surrey) being discountenanced by the King, has left the court. Wolsey thinks it will be a good thing if he were ousted from his lodging there altogether." But this expulsion was only temporary. Wolsey was himself partially discredited by the failure of the campaign of 1512; and Surrey's military talents came into play in 1513, when his splendid victory at Flodden restored him to all the favor he had lost, and earned him a dukedom. We next find him, on the occasion of the marriage of Mary to King Louis, entrusted with the conduct of the princess. This alliance, however, was a signal defeat for the Duke; cf. Brewer (*Reign of Henry VIII*, I. 75): "The old nobility, represented by Norfolk, opposed it; and the more so as Wolsey's success sealed his supremacy and their downfall. The debates upon this marriage and the alliance with France had given rise to a mortal struggle in the Privy Council between the old party and the new, of which only feeble indications have reached us. Would the King yield to this new influence and new nobility, . . . or would he continue his old advisers? The struggle had ended in a triumph for Wolsey, to be dissipated by the death of Lewis XII." On the accession of Francis the two parties again joined swords; and the final battle came over the extravagant Milan expedition of 1516, just the time we have seen indicated for our play. Polydore tells the result as follows (p. 646):

"Ex quo nempe factum est ut aliquot principes viri consiliarii, cum uidissent tantam potestatem ad unum peruenisse, alii alio ex curia abiue-

rint: et cum primis Cantuariensis [Archbishop Warham] et Vintoniensis, qui in suas dioeceses perrexerunt, sed antea, ut optimi reipublicae patres, regem summe rogarunt ut ne pateretur quenquam seruum maiorem esse domino suo. . . . Ad ea Henricus, non utique ignorabat in Volsaeum esse dicta, respondit se illud primum omnium curare sedulo uti seruus quisque pareat non imperet. *Deinde Thomas dux Northfolchiae in suam patriam se recepit*, et postremo Carolus Suthfolchiae dux alios etiam secutus est." Herbert connects his departure more closely with Henry's prodigality (p. 53): "Then Thomas Duke of Norfolk craved Leave to go to his Country House. For, as the King's Coffers were much exhausted by his late Wars and Triumphs, so not finding it easy to supply those vast Expences, which (in Pageants and Devices) increased daily, he wisely withdrew himself" (cf. also Dugdale's *Baronage*, II. 268). A contemporary letter of Thos. Allen's (May 31, 1516, Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, II. 1959, also 2018) mentions others dismissed in this general change of ministry, among them the Duke's son, now Earl of Surrey: "The Lord Marquis, the Earl of Surrey, the Lord of Abergavenny were put out of the Council chamber 'within this few days, whatsoever that did mean.'" Still others are mentioned by the Venetian ambassador Guistinian in a letter of July 17, 1516 (Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, II. 2183). The triumph of the Cardinal is thus summed up by Brewer (*Reign*, I. 257): "Before a single measure was submitted to the Privy Council, it was shaped by Wolsey's hands; he managed it unaided and alone when it had passed their approval. Fox, the only minister of any experience, seldom attended; Suffolk dared not offer opposition. Norfolk, who had endeavoured and once had partly succeeded in thwarting Wolsey's authority, had been defeated and yielded" (cf. also Pollard, p. 68, and *D. N. B.*, *sub* Thomas Howard II.).

The year 1516 thus marks the most crushing defeat of the party of Norfolk and the crowning triumph of Wolsey. He had already (1515) been made cardinal; now he became chancellor of the realm. In the ecclesiastical world he was destined to attain no higher rank, and nothing higher in the political realm was within his reach. From then until his downfall he continued virtually prime minister and all-powerful, and we hear no more of Council disputes. His height of popularity was perhaps marked by his diplomatic triumph in arranging the French alliance in 1518. Thenceforth troubles began to surround him. A curious incident that occurred in 1519 perhaps marks the first symptom of reaction. Pollard (p. 95) narrates it as follows: "In 1519, there was a sort of revolution at court, obscure enough now, but then a subject of some

comment at home and abroad. Half-a-dozen of Henry's courtiers were removed from his person and sent into honourable exile, receiving posts at Calais, at Guisnes, and elsewhere. Giustinian thought that Henry had been gambling too much and wished to turn over a new leaf. There were also rumours that these courtiers governed Henry after their own appetite, to the King's dishonour; and Henry, annoyed at the report and jealous as ever of royal prestige, promptly cashiered them, and filled their places with more grave and reverend seniors." Had *Magnificence* been written after this, the incident might have figured as a reinstatement of Measure and an expulsion of Courtly Abusion and Folly. Wolsey himself, however, had by this time risen too high to be much concerned in the dismissal of men who earlier may have been his confederates. In 1522 came the trial and execution of Buckingham, an event that embittered the people, and especially the nobility, who were forced into outward acquiescence, still further against Wolsey. The aged Duke of Norfolk returned to court to preside over this trial. On his death two years later, his son took up the legacy of enmity. When the question of divorce entered politics, Wolsey's power crumbled, and the nobles began to regain their lost ground. In 1527 we hear (Pollard, p. 146) that there were high words between Wolsey and the new Duke of Norfolk in Henry's presence; and when Wolsey at last fell in 1529, the last touch of bitterness must have been added by the fact that Norfolk and Suffolk, his lifelong enemies, were sent to take the Great Seal from him.

These events find no place in the allegory of the play. Nor did any marked Adversity befall Henry while under the direction of Wolsey, as the poet would seem to have expected, although his Wealth did vanish and Poverty come to take its place. Neither do we find any repentance on the part of the monarch or recall of his earlier councillors. When Wolsey fell at last, most of the old councillors, as well as the poet himself, had died before him; nor did any representative of their party succeed to Wolsey's place. The dividing line between veiled narrative and attempted prophecy comes just after scene 28 in Stage III; Stages IV and V are partly vague warning, partly merely the conventional *dénouement* of every moral play. This fact is no slight confirmation to the conclusion, reached above (p. xxv) from the references to external history, that the play is to be dated in the year 1516.

The fact that Skelton allied himself so closely with the party of the nobility will arouse no surprise in a careful reader of his poems. Throughout at least the twenty years of his life under Henry VIII he was the laureate of the nobles much more than of the monarch. Nearly fifty

years old at his accession, he was, quite as much as the old councillors, a survivor of the former reign, in which he had won his fame and honors. It was altogether natural that he should look with more or less suspicion upon the new order of things introduced by his royal pupil. Long before, in fact, in one of his earliest poems, the elegy *Upon the Death of the Earl of Northumberland* (Dyce, I. 6), he had shown his complete adoption of the aristocratic point of view. This nobleman was slain in 1489, in a popular uprising against oppressive taxation. Skelton berates the "commons vncurteis" like schoolboys for so far forgetting their duty as to slay a lord,

> "At his commaundement which had both day and nyght
> Knyghtes and squyers, at euery season when
> He calde vpon them, as meniall houshold men" (ll. 31–3).

Another passage uses the precise terminology of *Magnificence*, and to express the same attitude (ll. 50–61):

> "I say, ye comoners, why wer ye so stark mad?
> What frantyk Frensy fyll in your brayne?
> Where was your Wit and Reson ye should haue had?
> What wilful Foly made yow to ryse agayne
> Your naturall lord? Alas, I can not fayne:
> Ye armyd you with Will and left your Wit behynd;
> Well may you be called comones most vnkynd.
>
> He was your cheftayne, your shelde, your chef defence,
> Redy to assyst you in euery tyme of nede;
> Your Worshyp depended of his excellence.
> Alas, ye mad men, to far ye did excede;
> Your hap was vnhappy, to ill was your spede."

Especially to one noble house—the Howards—did the poet, throughout his career, show proofs of constant respect and devotion. On the occasion of the Earl of Surrey's victory at Flodden, Skelton found opportunity to compliment him by an adroit reference to his heraldic emblem, the White Lion (*Against the Scottes*, Dyce, I. 186, ll. 135–138). The compliment is repeated in his Latin poem on the same subject (Dyce, I. 190, ll. 17, 18; compare the mention of the White Lion in Roy's *Read me and be not wroth*, Arber Reprint, p. 20). But the greatest literary expression of his attachment to the house, with the exception of *Magnificence* itself, is the *Garland of Laurel*. This poem is inscribed as written at Sheriff-Hutton Castle, the home of the Duke of Norfolk; and is especially devoted to the praise of the Countess of Surrey (mother of the poet Surrey) as his patroness. The incident from which it derives its

name, the weaving of a garland for the author by a party of noble ladies at the desire of the Countess, seems to have been actual; if so, it may well have been earned by valiant literary service to the Duke's party by just such productions as his morality. Mention is made in this poem (l. 1219) of still another work written under the patronage of the Countess, the translation of the "Perigrinacioun of Mannes Lyfe"; for the expression Skelton uses here, "Of my ladys grace at the contemplacyoun," doubtless refers, as Brie (p. 9) explains it, to his hostess on this occasion.

It is, indeed, not unlikely that this clue, of lifelong attachment to the Howards, may throw an altogether new and valuable light on Skelton's whole biography. The fact that his benefice of Diss was in the Duke's county of Norfolk may be merely a coincidence. But a very much earlier connection is indicated by the appearance of his name in the *Household Book* of John Duke of Norfolk, the father of the victor of Flodden (*Household Books of John Duke of Norfolk and Thomas Earl of Surrey*; temp. 1481–1490. Edited for the Roxburghe Club, no. 61, by J. P. Collier; London, 1844). This source, which seems to have been overlooked by all his biographers, mentions the name John Skelton three times. Under the date Oct. 3, 1483 (p. 466), we have the entry: "Item, the same day, paid to Jhon a Godsalfe and to John Skelton for to bey them leverey gownys vjs. viij.d."; to which Collier adds the note: "This was, possibly, John Skelton the poet, at this period in the household of the Duke of Norfolk: if so, he must have entered the church subsequently." He is mentioned again on Oct. 19, 1483 (p. 477), in a list of the Duke's household who were attending him to London; and again (p. 481), where it is interesting to find John Skelton named among "the M. men that my Lord hath graunted to the King." These formed the Duke of Norfolk's contingent at the battle of Bosworth, where he lost his life. The thousand names are given under the different towns; and under "Reygate" are listed nine, among them "John Skelton" and the same "John a Goddishalf" who is found with him in both the other passages. The identification of this John Skelton with the poet is of course doubtful at best, since the name was by no means rare in the fifteenth century (see Brie, p. 4). But Skelton, who was about twenty-three years old in 1483, did not take orders till 1498; and there is nothing in his life and character as we know it inconsistent with the supposition that he saw military service in his youth.

If this be the poet, it is further conjecturable from the above entry that "Reygate," which is clearly Reigate in Surrey, was Skelton's native town; the former assertions, to the effect that he was a native of

Cumberland or Norfolk (see Dyce, I. v.), being altogether without support.

Whether we can thus carry back the poet's connection with the Howards to his youth or not, it is clear that he was very close to them in later life. Nor was he the only writer so connected. The Howards were also patrons of Skelton's nearest rival Barclay (*v.* Introd. to *Ship of Fools*, pp. lviii, lxxiii, lxxvi), who composed an allegorical elegy on the heroic death in 1514 of Admiral Edward Howard, the second duke's son, and who dedicated to the Duke his translation of Sallust (1519–24) and his *French Grammar* (1521). William Roy also, as we have seen, sided with the Howards against Wolsey. Unsuccessful as they often were in the intrigues of politics, it is manifest that the house was at all times in command of the forces of literature.

PART 2.

I. External Changes.

The effect of external conditions on the history of the moral plays is fundamental. To it is due, more than to anything else, the dissolution of the old plots and casts, and the liberation of the dramatist to follow his own ingenuity; and to it is also partly due the imposition of new laws and the growth of a technique more refined and more complex. The original morality schemes arose in a time when authors were unshackled by any restrictions on either the length of their plays or the number of their actors. They enjoyed, like the popular miracle cycles, the advantage of a patient public, who had come to spend their holiday and had no other use for their time. Their performers were drawn from the abundant source of the amateur guild actors, and any number could easily be supplied.

The transition which was effected from 1450 to 1520 from these popular moral plays to the interludes was influenced chiefly by two external factors: the change in the character of the audience, and the change in the status of the actors. The former had its principal effect on the length of the plays. As they were gradually refined, taken in hand by professional men of letters, and introduced to the court of archbishop and king and to the indoor audience, they were necessarily shortened. Kings had neither the time nor the inclination to spend their days or many of their hours in attending moral plays. The unlucky dramatist who forgot to compress his production had only himself to blame if his play suffered the fate recorded of Medwall's *Finding of*

Truth at the Christmas of 1513 (see Chambers, II. 201), which appeared to Henry so long, that he rose and 'departyd to his chambre.' The change from amateur to professional actors, on the other hand, had its principal effect on the number of actors. It was difficult to procure a large number of trained performers. The professional troupes were small; the most common size, as we have seen in the case of *Magnificence*, being four men and a boy. Consequently, various devices had to be employed to adjust to the new conditions the comprehensive demands of the primitive models on time and men.

This double process of contraction, in length and in number of performers, can be illustrated best by a table of the moral plays such as the following. Some moralities outside of our chronological limits have been added for the sake of comparison. Where part of a play is lost, an estimate of its original length has been made and the number of lines preserved added in parentheses. The arrangement is intended to show at a glance the stages which the process assumed.

	Length.	*Speaking parts.*	*Supernumeraries.*
Castle of Perseverance.	ab. 3800 (3650)	35	
Mary Magdalen.	2144	ab. 50	*ad lib.*
Three Estates.	4628+	ab. 40	
1st part.	2297		
2nd part.	2331		
Pride of Life.	ab. 900 (502)	ab. 12	
Everyman.	921	ab. 20	
Nature.	2860	21	
1st part.	1439		
2nd part.	1421		
Magnificence.	2567+	18	
Four Elements.	ab. 2000 (1457)	8	(*dancers*)
Wisdom.	1168	6	29
Mankind.	ab. 1000 (907)	7	
Hickscorner.	1026	6	
Mundus et Infans.	979	5	
Love.	1573	4	
Weather.	1255	10	
Four P's.	1236	4	
Pardoner and Friar.	640	4	
Wit and Folly.	739	3	
Johan Johan.	680	3	

With respect to their length, we can distinguish four stages among the plays which have been listed above:

1. We have three examples of what may be called, from the analogy

of the miracles, the cyclic stage: the popular out-door type of moral play, designed evidently to consume a half-day, or even a whole day. These are: the *Castle of Perseverance*, *Mary Magdalen*, and the belated *Three Estates*. The last-named was divided into two parts, for the forenoon and afternoon respectively, which in their original bulk may have each contained from 2500 to 3000 lines. The length of moral plays of this primitive stage was from 2000 to 4000 lines.

2. Next come a group of moralities written for in-door performance, but evidently based directly on the former group. Their authors have manifestly felt the necessity for compression, but still resist the demand, or attempt to compromise. *Nature* is divided arbitrarily into two parts, of a little over 1400 lines each. *Magnificence* retains almost the full measure of the primitive dimensions, without any visible break from beginning to end; but its length is its worst defect, and must have appeared nearly as excessive to its auditors as to us. *Four Elements* shows most clearly the feeling that abbreviation was becoming necessary. In its original state, it must have contained about 2000 lines; but the author's guilty conscience appears in his preface when he says (see Fischer's ed., p. 39): "whiche Interlude, yf the hole matter be playd, wyl conteyne the space of an hour and a halfe; but yf ye lyst, ye may leve out muche of the sad mater, as the Messengers parte, and some of Naturys parte, and some of Experyens parte, and yet the matter wyl depend convenyently, and than it wyll not be paste thre quarters of an hour of length." The sad and merry parts are very nearly evenly balanced, and if the author's directions for cutting it were followed, the result would approximate 1000 lines. The length of the plays of this stage, then, is in their complete form from 2000 to 3000 lines.

3. The division of *Nature* and the provision for cutting in the *Four Elements* gives us a clue as to the approximate length which had been found generally desirable by the end of the fifteenth century; and we are not surprised to find that the majority of the plays preserved range from 900 to 1400 lines. The fixing of this as the normal length may have been aided by the fact that it was the usual length of one form of the popular morality, the *Coming of Death* type, which had never supplied material for productions as lengthy as those of the *Conflict* type. The earliest play we possess, the *Pride of Life*, may be estimated to have originally contained approximately 900 lines; and *Everyman* has 921. Within the limits thus determined fall *Wisdom*, *Mankind*, *Hickscorner*, *Mundus et Infans*, and Heywood's *Four P's* and *Weather*. Heywood's *Love*, with its 1573 lines, is evidently too long.

4. The length was again cut in half by Heywood, who perhaps had a difficult audience to deal with. In his *Pardoner and Friar*, *Wit and Folly*, and *Johan Johan*, he establishes a new norm of 600 to 700 lines.

The reduction which has thus taken place from 4000 to 600 lines is susceptible of an interesting comparison with the dimensions of a Shaksperean play. From 3500 to 4000 lines is the average length of a play of Shakspere's; 600 lines is nearly the average length of his weightier scenes. The division into scenes and acts is altogether a foreign importation, only faint tendencies thereto being perceptible in such phenomena as the two parts of *Nature*. Usually, as in *Magnificence*, the stage is never cleared from beginning to end (probable exceptions to this statement occur in *Wisdom*, l. 325, *Hickscorner*, l. 155, *Mundus et Infans*, l. 744). The length of time during which an audience's attention can be safely held continuously, is more or less a fixed quantity dependent upon physical conditions; and in the absence of a device for breaking the action, the working out of the morality to a length finally coincident with the normal scene-length of the late drama, affords an interesting proof that both rested upon a practical basis.

The other side of the transition, the compression in the number of characters, is susceptible of a similar division into stages, although sometimes the same play shows a more advanced condition in the one respect than in the other. We may conveniently make three stages.

1. The popular moral plays, which were acted out-of-doors, and which show no restriction in the number of their actors, are: *Pride of Life*, *Castle of Perseverance*, *Mary Magdalen*, *Everyman* (in all probability), and the *Three Estates*. These vary widely in their actual numbers, from not more than 12 in the original *Pride of Life* to considerably over 50 in *Mary Magdalen;* but the difference is caused by the different demands of their themes, and there is no trace in any of them that the author was deterred from introducing all the characters he wished, or that any actor was obliged to assume more than one *rôle*.

2. All the remaining moral plays of our period fall into another single group, the characteristic of which is compression. The number of characters ideally desirable is, as we have already seen, gradually cut down by selection and combination. But in each play of this group, the number of characters whom the author feels obliged to keep is greater than the size of his troupe. This conflict is met in two ways: first, by the use of mutes, whose parts were probably then, just as to-day, entrusted to amateur performers; second, by doubling of *rôles*. The first device is

carried to a great extent in *Wisdom*. By a lavish use of costume, dancing, and other means directed to the eye instead of to the ear, it contrives to have 35 characters with but six speaking parts. In the other plays, however, this evident makeshift is but little used; the only other example being the dancers who are brought in in *Four Elements* at l. 1320. The second device, on the other hand, may be detected in each play of the group, and must be taken up for more detailed consideration.

3. All of Heywood's interludes fall into a third group. In the plays of the preceding group, the number of characters gradually approaches that of the actors, and the awkward device of doubled *rôles* is less and less used. Heywood discarded it altogether. In his plays, indeed, the necessity for it had ceased to exist with the abandonment of the old plots and the invention of simpler substitutes. The number of his *rôles* is always the same as the number of his actors, and both are usually small: four for *Love*, *Four P's*, *Pardoner and Friar*, three for *Wit and Folly* and *Johan Johan*. In *Weather* we have apparently a much larger troupe, probably a company of children.

The practice of doubling the *rôles* was continued down to a far later day, and has never been worked out, as it deserves to be, for the morality as a whole. In the period under discussion it can be detected in seven plays. The partition has already been traced for *Nature* by Brandl (pp. xlv, xlvi), who reports that the 21 characters could be taken by five men and a boy. Mr. Pollard (pp. xiii, xvi) has noted the single case of doubling in *Mankind*, that of Mischief and Titivillus. The others have never been ascertained. The following table will show the relations which may be detected between characters and actors in these plays:

	No. characters.	*No. actors:* (a) men.	(b) boys.
Wisdom—speaking	6	4	1
„ —silent	29	—	6
Mankind	7	3	3
Nature	21	5	1
Hickscorner	6	4	—
Mundus	5	2	—
Magnificence	18	4	1
Four Elements	8	4	1

The six parts of *Hickscorner* may be divided as follows:

A. Pity (1–154, 457–644); Imagination (889–1026).

B. Contemplation (33–155); Imagination (192–544); Contemplation (601–1026).

C. Perseverance (75–155); Hickscorner (304–544); Perseverance (601–1026).

D. Freewill (156–483, 511–544, 645–1026).

This gives each actor three entrances. The only difficulty is the splitting of the *rôle* of Imagination. We might avoid this by supposing, as in *Magnificence* (see p. xlviii), that there were five actors, but that one must always remain off the stage, to act as prompter or for some other reason. There is not, however, the same objection here to dividing a *rôle* as in *Magnificence*, for no mention is made of any difference in the size of characters. The effect of the restriction to four actors is apparent in the premature exit of Pity at l. 644, and the disappointing failure of Hickscorner to return to the stage and get converted together with his two brothers in vice.

The smallest troupe is that of *Mundus et Infans*, which is clearly intended for but two actors, who divide the play as follows:

A. Manhood with his various names: Infans (25–67), Wanton (68–122), Lust-and-Liking (123–159), Manhood (160–683), Shame (684–720), Age (767–853), Repentance (854–979).

B. Mundus (1–236); Conscience (288–494); Folly (522–699); Conscience (713–744); Perseverance (745–979).

The stage is left empty for a moment at l. 744, while Conscience goes out to return as Perseverance.

The remaining three plays are evidently designed for the troupe of four men and a boy, which we have seen above was the normal size for the moralities. The boy took the female parts,[1] and the diminutive figures which were related to the Garcio of the miracles and the dwarf-fools of later moralities (cf. Nought, New Guise, and Now-a-Days in *Mankind;* and see Pollard, p. xiv; the maiden Innocency and the Garcio in *Nature*, and see Brandl, p. xlv; and Fancy in *Magnificence*). The parts in *Wisdom* are to be assigned as follows:

A. Wisdom (1–324); Lucifer (325–380, 381–551); Wisdom (876–1168).

[1] Cf. *Sir Thomas More*, ed. A Dyce (Shakespeare Society, London, 1844), p. 56:

" *Moore.* How manie are ye?
Player. Foure men and a boy, sir.
Moore. But one boy? then I see,
Ther's but fewe women in the play.
Player. Three, my lord; Dame Science, Lady Vanitie,
And Wisdome she herselfe.
Moore. And one boy play them all? bir lady, hees loden."

B. Mind.
C. Will.
D. Understanding.
E (the boy). Lady Anima (17–324, 906–1000, 1068–1168).

For the supernumerary parts there would be needed

1. 5 boys : Five Virgins (165–324, 1068–1168).
2. 6 boys : Mind's suit (696–710) ; Understanding's suit (728–737) ; Will's suit (756–779) ; Six small devils (906–982).

Among the main *rôles* the only doubling is that of Wisdom and Lucifer. The author has not yet learned to cover up the consequent interruptions by suitable monologues, and the stage remains empty for a few moments at ll. 324 and 380, while this actor is shifting his costume.

The closest similarity to the method employed in *Magnificence* of assigning the parts is that found in the *Four Elements.*

A. Messenger (1–147); Taverner (553–655, 884–975); Ignorance (1142–1457).
B. Natura (148–324) ; Experience (664–1141) ; Natura (1434–1457).
C. Humanity.
D. Studious Desire.
E (the boy). Sensual Appetite.

Sensual Appetite is a diminutive humorous figure like Fancy ; the fool Ignorance, on the other hand, bears a striking resemblance to Folly. The number of supernumeraries used for the dance (1320–1382) is not specified.

II. Versification.

The artistic use in the earlier English drama of changes in verse and strophe to characterize the tone of different parts or of different characters forms an exceedingly interesting chapter in the history of dramatic technique ; and it is a chapter that begins with the moral plays. Here as in many other features, the development of the English drama bears a close analogy to that of its ancient counterpart in Greece, especially to Greek comedy. The Old Comedy, as exemplified by Aristophanes, had a rich scheme of different metres, partly lyrical and partly popular in their tone, which it applied with a nice sense for their differing ἦθος. A comparative newcomer in the list, the iambic trimeter, was discovered to be the most flexible, least lyrical, and closest to prose ; and in the New Comedy the comic trimeter obtained exclusive possession of the field. The

Old Comedy of the English drama was the morality and the interlude; and although it was far from being glorified by the genius of an Aristophanes, it employed at times an almost equally abundant array of different measures.

The principle of making dramatic use of verse-changes persisted almost into the perfected drama of the Elizabethan age, but the methods employed changed many times. The characteristic of the moral plays and earlier interludes in this respect was the use of contrasted stanzas rather than of contrasted lines. In the moral plays the popular rhythm inherited from the mysteries was still employed. The looseness with which all forms of this had come to be written made it difficult to distinguish differences of line; hence these were usually reinforced by differences of rime-scheme. Throughout the period before us, lines of different weight and length are combined in contrasted strophes; these strophes in the earlier moral plays are generally long and complicated, later they are gradually shortened and simplified, and the couplet becomes the favorite form. A new period is marked by the re-introduction, first in the lyrical verse of Wyatt and Surrey, afterwards in the drama, of strictly regular rhythm, long almost a lost art in England. When such lines as the septenarius and the alexandrine began to be used in the drama side by side with the old tumbling verse, an effective contrast in rhythms was provided that supplanted the earlier and less delicate contrast in rime-schemes. The complex stanzas were discarded entirely for simple quatrains or couplets. This stage is exemplified in such early comedies as *Misogonus* (1560) and *Common Conditions* (1576), in which dignified scenes and characters are marked by the use of the septenarius, while clowns and farcical scenes are throughout assigned the popular rhythm. At a still later period the pentameter and blank verse were introduced into the drama, and soon had ousted well-nigh all their competitors, in tragedy and comedy alike. The couplet, of course, always remained a means of obtaining particular artistic effects; and the contrast between verse and prose was used by Shakspere to accomplish much the same purposes as had prompted the earlier contrasts between dignified and popular rhythms and strophes. In the main, however, the subtler methods of characterization discovered by advancing dramatic art superseded the older variations; and dramatists no longer found it necessary to label their humor or pathos by conventional metrical signs.

The long period of experiment, however, had its value. It tested the dramatic availability of many different verse-forms, and discovered which were too lyrical, which too crude, and which too complicated. The fact,

moreover, that such experiments were going on affords a not unneeded proof that these much-abused metrists were concerned over the choice of their measures and alive to metrical values.

The period which closed with *Magnificence* saw only the inception of these metrical experiments. For the most part, as has been said, it utilized only the broader effects obtainable from stanza-contrasts. The distinction of line which we found in *Magnificence*, between the heavy and light line of four-accents, was also used, and in the earliest plays was the sole method; but it vanished in the hands of careless writers, and revived only in connection with the rime royal, when rime royal was introduced into the drama, the heavy line possibly being a supposed Chaucerian imitation. The changes in popularity and in the use made of the different stanza-forms are instructive, and reveal as does no other single feature the unity of development in the group as a whole. Before attempting to generalize we need to see exactly what the metrical structure of each play is, and an analysis is here attempted, taking the plays in the order of development rather than chronologically.

Pride of Life. The fragments preserved are composed throughout in quatrains with a uniform rime-scheme (abab), but varying length and weight of line. The first fragment (ll. 1–126), including the prologue and what remains of the King of Life's opening speech, is written in four-accent lines throughout. In the prologue these are light and show no effort at alliteration ($abab^4$); in the King's boastful speech (ll. 113–126) they are heavy and very alliterative ($ABAB^4$; I have ventured to distinguish between the heavy and light four-accent lines by using capitals for the former, small letters for the latter). The rest of the play, including dialogue and the Bishop's sermon, is written in alternate four and three-accent lines ($a^4\ b^3\ c^4\ b^3$). We have apparently an attempt to indicate by contrast of line but not of stanza, the formality of the conventional opening and the dignity of the hero (cf. Magnificence's alliterative monologue), as distinguished from the level of the play. The loss of so much of the play prevents us from knowing how much further the attempt was carried.

Coventry Plays (cf. Hohlfeld, Anglia, xi. 250). The miracle plays generally carried the same stanza-form throughout the play. Where different stanzas have been used we are usually pointed to a change of authors or to interpolation. Whether this explanation can be accepted in every case is to be doubted. Naturally there was very little occasion for making metrical contrasts in the miracle plays, as compared to the

moralities with their essential opposition of the virtue-scenes and vice-scenes. But a thorough study of the numerous shifts that occur within plays would probably prove some of them intentional variations of a single author. We do not need, however, to account for any change of stanza-form in either of the two moralities imbedded in the *Ludus Coventriae*. The first, the *Debate of the Heavenly Graces*, which includes only ll. 1–191 of the play numbered XI. and called by Halliwell and Manly the *Salutation and Conception*, is written throughout in an eight-line stanza, with light four-stress lines (ababbcbc^4). The second, the *Death of Herod*, beginning in the middle of Halliwell's play XIX., the *Slaughter of the Innocents*, on p. 183, with the words, "In sete now am I sett," is composed throughout in a thirteen-line stanza, consisting of eight four-stress and five two-stress lines. But although this remains uniform in rime-scheme, it varies, like the *Pride of Life*, in character of line. In the first half of the play, portraying King Herod in boastful prosperity, the first eight lines of each stanza are heavy and alliterative (ABABABAB^4); in the second half (beginning on p. 186, "Hic dum buccinant Mors interficiat Herodem"), where Death comes with sudden destruction, the first eight lines are light and non-alliterative (abababab^4). The contrast is striking and unquestionably deliberate, but is again a matter of line and not of stanza.

Castle of Perseverance (cf. Mr. Pollard's intro. in the E.E.T.S. 91, pp. xxvi, xxvii). We have here the first hesitating efforts at dramatic use of stanza-contrasts. The bulk of the play, 284 stanzas out of 315, is written in the same thirteen-line stanza that is used in the *Death of Herod*, or in an abbreviated form of this with nine lines. The same distinction between heavy and light lines in the first part of this stanza is also found here: the heavy form (ABABABAB^4) is used for the formal prologue (stanzas 1–12), the lofty opening monologues of Mundus, Belial, and Caro (13–21; stanza 21 is evidently an oversight with its repetition of the *cauda*), and apparently also in the opening monologues of the vices (78–80, 82–84); elsewhere the light form (abababab^4 or abab^4) is used. The distinction, though clear enough at times (compare stanzas 1 or 13 with stanzas 22, 23) is not so carefully preserved as in the *Death of Herod*. Both forms have abundant alliteration. Naturally the fading contrast had to be reinforced by a tentative use of different stanzas. Mr. Pollard notes that the author scrupled to divide a stanza between two speakers; hence no doubt his use of the abbreviated form; and hence also, for very brief speeches, the introduction of the uneven

couplet (a^2 a^3) or quatrain (a^2 a^3 a^2 a^3), which occurs 32 times. This is put in the mouth of all the characters, and can hardly be a means of character-contrast. But in two passages a significant use is made of a special stanza for the three lowest and most depraved of the vices. The three servants of Mundus, Voluptas, Stultitia, and Detraccio, are additions to the original scheme of vices inserted evidently to balance the three attendants of Belial and the three attendants of Caro. They approach nearest to the later conception denominated the "Vice of the play," Voluptas and Stultitia, as we shall see, showing kinship with one side of that conception, Detraccio with the other. When Humanum Genus ascends into Mundus's scaffold (l. 618), thus marking the culmination of Evil's first triumph over him, Mundus hands him over to Voluptas and Stultitia and they accept him in three stanzas (54–56) which constitute the first appearance of the "Schweifreimstrophe" in the moralities. They are further distinguished by being put into half-lines (aaabcccb^2). A little later Humanum Genus is introduced to Detraccio, who welcomes him in a single "Schweifreimstrophe" (no. 67) of somewhat fuller form (aaa^4 b^3 ccc^4 b^3). This "tail-rimed stanza," or *rime couée*, used indiscriminately in the romances and miracles, was well adapted by its rattling repetition of the same rime for two, three, four, or more lines, and its jingling tags, to characterize the farcical vice-figures and scenes. Permitting wide variation in form, but always preserving an easily recognizable character, its use was to become general in succeeding moral plays.

Wisdom. In this play we have for the first time the system of contrasted metres in its completeness. *Wisdom* has two stanzas, whose boundaries accurately divide the parts dominated by the two sides. The eight-line stanza (ababbcbc; Warton's "octave"), extended thrice (ll. 49–60, 885–896, 1057–1068) to twelve lines (ababbcbccdcd) and once (ll. 1085–1088) shortened to four (abab), is used in the serious parts (ll. 1–324 and ll. 877–1168) where Wisdom is on the stage. The tail-rimed stanza (aaab cccb) is used for the vice-scenes (ll. 325–876). The uneven couplet (a^2 a^4), which in the *Castle of Perseverance* is used for a definite purpose and in a curious symmetrical arrangement, survives here without visible purpose in three places as a tag to the tail-rimed stanza (l. 518, which should be printed as two lines, ll, 736, 7, and 746, 7). A single violation of the distinction is the presence of the serious octave stanza (no. 61, ll. 485–92) isolated amid the tail-rimed stanzas in a vice-scene,—evidently a slip. No use is made of contrast of line: in the octave stanzas there are

always four accents, but the range in length of the lines is very great; the tail-rimed stanzas begin (no. 41) with half-lines, but soon increase to three-accent and four-accent lines. The contrast of line, in the hands of careless poets, was too evanescent for practical use; and it was naturally neglected when a more patent method had been discovered. The author of *Wisdom* was a careless poet, as his atrocious rimes bear witness.

Mankind. The system of *Wisdom* is further refined in *Mankind.* In *Wisdom* each metre is carried unbroken through the whole stage of the play belonging to it; in *Mankind* the shifts are much more numerous, and occur wherever the forces of one side intrude, as they often do, upon the counsels of the other. The metre chosen for the virtues is the quatrain (abab), sometimes linked (abab bcbc cdcd, etc.) (as in ll. 1–44, the formal prologue; ll. 181–196, Mankind's opening address; ll. 270–281, beginning of Mercy's warning sermon; ll. 727–746, beginning of Mercy's lament); the linked form thus seems used for special dignity, much as the rime royal is in *Magnificence*, but not very consistently. Irregularities are the extra line (aabab) (ll. 197–201) and the isolated couplet (ll. 302, 3). For the vices the tail-rime stanza (aaabcccb) is used, but the regular form of this is often extended, abbreviated, or twisted. The following forms occur (x is used for a single unrimed line): aaa b ccc b ddd b (522–33), aaa b ccc b dd bx (114–25), aaa b x ccc b ddd b (385–97), aa b ccc b (476–82), aaa b cc b (624–30), aaa b c b (438–43), aaa x ccc x (550–57), aaa b ccc (680–86), aaa ccc b (765–71), aaa c b cc b (506–13); in ll. 53–63, 468–75, 483–87, we have stanzas, that are mixed or hopelessly corrupt. Couplets are used in one passage (324–35) for a song, and twice added as a tag to a stanza (496, 7; 598, 9). In length of line *Mankind* is still more irregular than *Wisdom.* We may assume four-accent lines throughout, but in Mercy's latinizing speeches they are certainly stretched to their fullest capacity, while in the vice-scenes they are usually shorter. The somewhat intricate arrangement of the two stanzas can best be shown by the following table:

1. Virtue supreme.

quatrains	tail-rime	
1–44	45–156	The vices make three incursions, two of them very brief, upon the stage while Mankind is still innocent and is receiving the instructions of Mercy; and they carry with them each time their own metre.
157–237	238–245	
246–253	254–269	
270–315		

2. Vice supreme.

	316–726
727–764	765–803

So while Mankind is still living in sin with the vices Mercy enters and laments in his own quatrain.

3. Virtue supreme.

804–907 |

The points worthy of note, then, in *Mankind* are the growing carelessness in the construction of the line, as also in the riming (cf. Mr. Pollard's intro., p. xix), and in the construction of the tail-rime stanza; combined with an increasing delicacy in fitting each scene with its appropriate metre.

Nature (cf. Brandl, *Q. und F.*, LXXX. xxxvii). In *Nature* we have, substantially continued, the double system of *Mankind*, but with a significant change of the metre of the virtue scenes to the rime royal. This seems the first instance of its use in the drama, for the passages in the *Chester Plays* are certainly late interpolations. Its wide acceptance in the later moral plays marks the growing refinement of the species. *Nature* also utilizes the distinction of heavy and light lines, which *Wisdom* and *Mankind* neglect. This enables the writer to secure an intermediate form which would otherwise have been out of reach. The dignified scenes are of course composed in the heavy line (ABABBCC), the vice-scenes in the light line and commonly in the tail-rime stanza (aaa^4b^3 ccc^4b^3 or aa^4b^3 cc^4b^3); but we also find a number of occurrences of the rime royal in the light line (ababbcc), always mixed with tail-rime verses, for the more important vices or more elevated vice-scenes, or for what may be called a half-way repentance scene, where virtue is only partly triumphant. The rime royal is written with great care: two lines have fallen out (554, II. 1273), one has been added (II. 1350), and in one case (II. 1076–85) two stanzas have apparently run together. The tail-rime stanza, on the other hand, shows an even greater variety of forms than in *Mankind*; the following is a list, with references for those not given by Brandl (b always stands for the three-accent tag): aaab cccb dddb, aab ccb ddb, aaab ccb, aaab ccccb (1027–35; read by Brandl as aaaa bbbba), aab cccb; and the following, which may be regarded as stanzas abbreviated at one end or the other: aaab, aab (II. 635–7), aab cc (II. 611–15), b aaab, b aab, b aaaab, b aab ccb (II. 101–7, 622–8). Couplets are also scattered pretty freely among these scenes, usually two together, once a longer passage (II. 83–100); once we have three lines (aaa) (844–6); once there is a passage of prose; and a number of unrimed lines occur. Brandl cites a number of half-lines, but most of them are to be read as parts of a divided line. The distribution of the metres follows the same

plan as in the preceding plays, the only noteworthy points being the mixed scenes. The prologue and the debate held before Man (ll. 1–399) are wholly rime royal, as is also the first temptation scene before the lordly Mundus (400–655) which ends in the expulsion of Innocency, with the exception of a few lines at its close in which Man gives his final assent in tail-rime. Then begins the vice portion proper. Lines 656–74 are in tail-rime. Lines 675–723, spoken principally by Worldly Affection or Covetousness, the leading vice, and Sensuality, the Bad Angel, are in rime royal. Lines 724–1051 again revert to the tail-rime, as Man falls under the power of more degraded vices. Lines 1052–1292, which are written in tail-rime with the light rime royal stanzas described above interspersed, is a long scene where Man is off the stage and the vices gleefully report his increasing degradation at the tavern; the rime royal stanzas reflect the boastful tone, also perhaps the speakers, Sensuality and Worldly Affection. The remainder of the first part (ll. 1293–1439) constitute a hurried and ineffective repentance scene, also composed in a mixture of tail-rime and rime royal. Part II begins with a short prologue (1–63), of course in rime royal. The second temptation scene (64–163) is quickly successful, and after only two rime royal stanzas Man plunges into vice in couplets and tail-rime strophes. The second vice-portion (164–1012) is altogether in the tail-rime, except for two of the light rime royal stanzas put in the mouth of Pride (304–17). Then follows a weighty and thoroughly adequate repentance scene (1013–1421), in heavy rime royal throughout.

Four Elements (Fischer, pp. 27–37). The close dependence of this play on *Nature* in plot and cast is evident also in its metrical structure. Its two metres are the same: the heavy-line rime-royal (ABABBCC^4) and the tail-rime strophe with light four and three-stress-lines (aaa^{4}b^3 ccc^{4}b^3 or aa^{4}b^3 cc^{4}b^3). Both are written even less regularly than in *Nature*. In five cases the rime-royal stanzas have an irregular extra line (for references see Fischer). The variants in the tail-rime run more to extension by inserting superfluous lines than in *Nature;* the following novel forms are given by Fischer: aaab ccb ddb, aab cccb ddb, aab ccb dddb, aaab cccb ddb, aab cccb dddb; and aab ccb b, aab cccb, aaab b ccb. To these may be added the abbreviated aab (505–7), aab b (593–7), and the curious extension aab ccddb eeb (598–608; these are differently interpreted by Fischer). The abbreviated forms so common in *Nature* are otherwise wholly absent, as is also the rime-royal in the light line. *Four Elements* uses the couplet only sporadically (405, 6 as a mocking echo;

884, 5; 1005–9, with an extension to three lines). A novel feature is the insertion of songs or comic recitations in special metrical form: a mock blessing in half lines (413–20: aab ab ccb ?); a nonsense medley with the lines intentionally rimeless (1410–33); and three songs (1320–31; 1343–59; 1379–82) given in such abbreviated form that the exact metrical intention is uncertain. The metrical distinction which is thus taken ready-made from *Nature* is, however, not adhered to. The play begins with the rime royal, and changes on the first entrance of the vice Sensual Appetite (l. 405) to the tail-rime; but thereafter the tail-rime remains unchanged, and is carried through for the "merry" and "sad" matter alike. The following table will show the division, those parts which we should expect to find in rime royal instead of tail-rime being put in parenthesis.

rime royal	tail-rime
1–404	405–663
	(664–883)
	884–1037
	(1038–1141)
	1142–1433
	(1434–1457).

The neglect to preserve the metrical boundaries which he had begun is of a piece with the lack of literary conscience and the unintelligent copying of models that the author betrays in most of the other features of his play, as we shall come to observe. He frankly acknowledges a purely didactic purpose. Naturally the loose tail-rime was much more easily composed than the rime royal, and the temptation to continue it was yielded to.

Side by side with these plays in which metrical distinctions are evidently kept in mind, and more or less conscientiously observed, are others in which the device is wholly given up. These plays are all comparatively late. In them all literary finish is conspicuously forsaken in favor of practical dramatic effectiveness. They are all incredibly loose in the purity of their rimes. It may be suspected that distinctions of stanza were beginning to break down before the practical test of the stage. The old distinction of line, which required a still more delicate handling, was naturally also unavailable, and no substitute had yet arisen to supply the demand. The plays which come under this head are *Mary Magdalen*, *Everyman*, *Hickscorner*, *Mundus et Infans*, all of which are metrically aimless, although not to the same degree metrically incoherent. The two latter are still written in stanzas, though these are often irregular in form, and though different forms are interchanged without motive; *Mary Magdalen* and *Everyman* are written in lines that rime at random or not at all.

The attempt of Schmidt (*Anglia*, viii. 387–390) to explain the confusion of stanza-form in *Mary Magdalen* as due to imperfect transcription and interpolation, breaks down before the necessity of rewriting the whole play that it would involve. In the morality portion of this play the only scheme that the writer had in mind is apparently the octave (ababbcbc), and an unbroken example is occasionally though not often found.

Everyman offers a marked contrast to the neat couplets of the Dutch play in its hopeless welter of couplets, quatrains, and rime royals. The quatrains (abab) are inserted quite at random, and show numerous variants (aabab, abaab, ababb, abaabb, aabba, ababbcbc). The rarer rime-royal stanzas are apparently used in more solemn passages, though without consistency; there are two, one faulty, at the beginning, when God speaks; one in Everyman's speech at l. 131; and one in Everyman's dying prayer, l. 880; and there is one stanza, with a couplet, in short two-accent lines at the beginning of the Death and Everyman scene, that marks the quick exchange of surprised conversation, and anticipates the metre of Courtly Abusion's monologue (*Magn.* l. 838). The couplet is the predominant rime-scheme, and its extended use would be significant if it were not probably due to the example of its probable Dutch original. The prologue,—not found in the Dutch play,—which in every other play that has one calls for the most dignified stanza available, here strangely enough is put into the only tail-rime of the play, but it is made somewhat more formal by carrying the same rime throughout for the tag (aab ccb ddb eeb, etc.).

Hickscorner has for its chief metres the quatrain (abab), often linked in various ways with a second quatrain, the tail-rime in many forms, and the couplet. A few rime-royal stanzas occur at random. There is no visible order. The play opens with linked quatrains in the mouth of the virtues, and brings the vices on (l. 156) with tail-rime, as in *Mankind*; but elsewhere the two are hopelessly mixed. The play possesses, however, one significant metrical feature,—the extensive use of the couplet, for long speeches as well as for dialogue (see ll. 231–316, 331–391, 662–694, 752–852, 901–932). This use is very similar to that found in *Magnificence*. The couplet, the simplest of all the rime-schemes yet introduced into the drama, was replacing the others by a sort of natural selection.

Mundus et Infans occupies a much less advanced stage in its metrical structure. It has no couplets, and indulges in stanzas of the longest and

most complicated form, invented apparently on the spur of the moment and not repeated. The quatrain (abab) occurs frequently; but the bulk of the play is in tail-rime stanzas (aaab cccb). These occur with most of the variations and abbreviations already noted in *Nature* and the *Four Elements*. A mixed stanza is frequently found, consisting of a quatrain plus part of a tail-rime stanza (abab cdddc), or *vice versa* (aaab abab), or still more intricately (ab ccb addda, 757–66); and the so-called "bob-wheel" stanza, not found elsewhere in the moralities, occurs not less than five times (abab *c* dddc, 482–90; aaab cccb dddb *e* fffe, 794-810; three times with the bob-verse consisting curiously of an echo of the last word in the preceding line, aaab cccb *b* dddb, 275–87, 308–20; abab *b* bba, 300–7). No aim is apparent in any of these metrical changes. Some use is perhaps discernible of the heavy alliterative form of the quatrain and tail-rime in passages of lofty boasting such as ll. 1–12, 216–231, 267–282, as compared with the light form found elsewhere in the play; but the adaptation is merely sporadic, and the other shifts and turns in the metre can hardly be taken as other than whimsical.

With the foregoing data from the thirteen moral plays before us, we are enabled more safely to characterize the metrical development of the whole dramatic period. Of the two sorts of metrical distinctions utilized for dramatic characterization, the first on the field was the distinction of line. In the *Pride of Life*, the *Death of Herod*, to some extent in the *Castle of Perseverance*, and possibly in two or three passages of *Mundus et Infans*, this distinction was used alone; that is, the same stanza-forms, differing only in weight of line and in the presence or absence of alliteration, are used for contrasted effects, the light lines giving the tone of ordinary passages, the heavy line marking formality, dignity, or elevation, and the alliteration giving the special connotation of confident but vain boasting. The difficulty of this distinction appears in the uncertainty of its use in the *Castle of Perseverance* and in the relinquishment of it in later plays. When the rime royal was introduced, the distinction of line was again brought in, but this time to reinforce the distinction of rime-scheme: dignified stanzas, such as the rime royal, are put in the heavy line; the unregenerate tail-rime, in the light line. This is the rule in *Nature* and the *Four Elements*. Practice in the distinction naturally suggested a revival of its use alone, and this appears tentatively in the light-line rime-royal stanzas of *Nature*, and still better in *Magnificence* with its heavy and light couplets and leash.

Magnificence has also the credit for actually using the distinction

between the full line and the half-line. The half-line is frequent enough in the *caudas* of the long stanzas of the *Death of Herod*, the *Castle of Perseverance*, and *Mundus et Infans;* and scattered indications that the contrast between it and the full line was felt are to be seen in the half-line tail-rime stanzas of the *Castle of Perseverance*, and in its sporadic occurrence in *Wisdom* and *Nature*. Its capricious and novel treatment by Barclay, besides (see above, p. lxxxvi), must not be forgotten. But it was practically unused before Skelton, and the credit for the many different rime-schemes with which he varied it is all his own.

Not counting miscellaneous varieties, six different rime-schemes occur in the plays that precede *Magnificence*. Most characteristic of the earliest period is the long thirteen-liner of the *Death of Herod* and the *Castle of Perseverance*, with its nine-line variant in the latter play. Neither appears again, except for sporadic examples of the nine-line form along with random bob-wheel and irregularly-shaped stanzas in *Mundus et Infans*. Equally old is the alternate quatrain of the *Pride of Life*. This occurs again as the metre of the virtue-scene in *Mankind*, and is used more or less frequently and quite at random in *Mary Magdalen*, *Everyman*, *Hickscorner*, and *Mundus et Infans*. The "octave," which is really nothing more than two quatrains linked, has a precisely similar history: used throughout in the *Debate of the Graces* (*Coventry XI*), in the virtue-scenes of *Wisdom*, and more or less frequently in *Mary Magdalen* and *Everyman*. The tail-rime stanza arises somewhat later, appearing first, as we have seen, in the *Castle of Perseverance*, but has a much more crowded history. It became at once the chosen metre for the vice-scenes, and held that position while quatrain, octave, and rime royal were successively tried for the opposite office. From the first it showed an extreme flexibility in both number and length of lines, and what would have been suicidal irregularities in any other stanza failed to disguise its peculiar character. Consequently it evidently became a favorite in the hands of negligent writers. Restricted in *Wisdom*, *Mankind*, and *Nature* to vice-scenes, it encroached, as we have seen, in the *Four Elements* on the serious parts as well, was adopted in *Everyman* for the formal prologue, and became in *Hickscorner* and *Mundus et Infans* the dominant metre of the play. Seemingly it was in a fair way to make good its position in the drama; but its low origin and its doggerel associations were a fatal handicap. When the drama came into the hands of men who remembered how Chaucer had ridiculed it in *Sir Thopas*, the tail-rime stanza was inevitably discarded. Skelton omitted it from his list, except for an isolated song,

as he also omitted the quatrain and octave with their miracle associations. The increasing refinement of the drama is shown even better by the comparatively late introduction of the rime royal. Before Skelton it was used practically only by the learned author of *Nature* and by his imitator in the *Four Elements;* for the few stray examples in *Everyman* and *Hickscorner* are fortuitous. Even later was the rise of a form destined to be the most permanent of the period—the couplet. The peculiar uneven couplet of the *Castle of Perseverance* and *Wisdom* has no connection with the later form, and the scattered examples in *Mankind*, *Nature*, and *Four Elements* are too few to be significant. In *Everyman*, and especially in *Hickscorner*, we have the first evidence in extended use of appreciation for its special dramatic fitness. Skelton may have been influenced by Chaucerian authority in making it his most widely used rime-scheme, but he showed also sound judgment of the metrical needs of the drama.

Two principles were evidently at work in this metrical development: refinement and simplification. There was a tendency to abandon the rude technique of the miracle play and to conform to recognized literary models; and another tendency, far more organic, because it was the outward expression of the inward change from edifying declamation addressed to the audience to living dialogue, to discard stanzas that were long and complicated, and finally to shake off altogether the shackles of rime. The two principles did not always coincide. The refining process contributed to the passing of the quatrain, octave, thirteen and nine-liner, and finally of the tail-rime stanza, and the introduction of the rime royal. Simplification was also inimical to the stanzas of eight, nine, and thirteen lines; but it was equally inimical to the rime royal, and if anything it must have favored the tail-rime stanza, which as written was certainly the freest form in use at the time. The one conflict perhaps accounts for the restriction of the rime royal that is discernible in *Nature* and *Magnificence*, to say nothing of the *Four Elements;* the other probably explains the persistence of the tail-rime stanza in the use of writers of learned traditions like Medwall, and later. The couplet was in harmony with both processes, and the extension of its use was perhaps the chief metrical contribution of the period.

In nothing else does Skelton's workmanship shine better by comparison than in his handling of the problem of measures. His notably careful rimes and stanzas, his judicial selection among the metrical combinations hitherto employed, his development of useful forms like the half-line and the couplet that had before been no more than introduced, and his introduction of a variety of absolutely new forms are cases in

point; but most remarkable of all is the quite unparalleled nicety of his adaptation of his different measures to their different purposes. Standing distinctly with the earlier dramatic school as he does, his technique yet contains prophecies of the methods that were to follow. The introduction of regular rhythm had not yet come to make easy the distinctions of line, and he was still forced to rely mainly on his different rime-schemes. But such differences as were at hand, the contrast of heavy and light line and of full line and half-line, he did experiment with. Neither difference was destined to permanent adoption in the drama, although both were employed by Heywood and other successors. We must at least put down to Skelton's credit a lively interest and a considerable originality in the application of metrical distinctions for dramatic purposes.

III. Plot.

a. *General Historical Development.* It has usually been affirmed (cf. ten Brink, *Gesch. d. eng. Litt.*, II, 318 ff., Gayley, p. xxxv) that the morality made its chief contribution to the advance of dramatic art in the freedom which it gave the playwright to invent his own plot and to create his own characters. It is said that whereas the miracle play was tied to a traditional circle of stories and personages, which the sacredness of their source forbade altering, the writer of moralities was merely given a theme, and was expected then to construct an allegory for himself and supply it with original characters. A study of the moralities of the period before us, however, shows that grave restrictions must be made before this dictum can be accepted. It is true in a measure for the later interludes; but is far from being true for the moral plays. Indeed, an analysis of these earlier moralities reveals quite as close an adherence to stock plots, and a range of choice even more limited, than was open to the writers of contemporary miracles. There is as much variation between the four miracle cycles in treating a common subject, as for example *Noah* or the *Pastores*, as between the different handlings of the surprisingly few morality plots. Freedom was won gradually. When it came, it was naturally much more complete than it had ever been for the miracle plays. Yet in no one of the plays before us did the dramatist dream of inventing his own plot. The plot of *Magnificence* is borrowed like the rest; but Skelton approaches freedom more closely than any of his predecessors. We can appreciate the extent of his constructive originality only by an analysis of the earlier plots.

In the extant twelve moral plays and miracle-moralities contemporary

with or earlier than *Magnificence*, there existed but three, or at the most four distinct plots. These may be denominated as follows: the *Debate of the Heavenly Graces*, the *Coming of Death*, the *Conflict of Vices and Virtues*, and the *Debate of the Soul and Body*. Of the last-named no exemplar remains. It has been supposed from the contents outlined in the prologue of the *Pride of Life*, though, as we shall see, on rather uncertain grounds, that it was used in the lost second part of that play; if so, we have been deprived of the means of knowing exactly how this favorite old English *motif* was adapted to the drama. The plots occur sometimes singly, sometimes in combination. The three miracle-moralities each combine one of them with miracle elements of various nature. Among the nine pure moral plays, the *Castle of Perseverance* is a combination of three plots, and *Pride of Life* possibly of two; the remaining seven are simple.

The distribution of these plots is significantly uneven. The *Debate of the Heavenly Graces* occurs twice, both times in combination: in *Coventry XI* with a miracle theme, in the *Castle of Perseverance* with two other morality themes. The *Coming of Death* occurs four times: three times in combination, in *Coventry XIX*, the *Pride of Life*, and the *Castle of Perseverance*, and once singly, in the translation from the Dutch *Elkerlijk*, *Everyman*. But by far the most important of the plots is the *Conflict of Virtues and Vices*. It is used twice in combination, in the *Castle of Perseverance* and the miracle-morality *Mary Magdalen;* and singly supplies the theme of no less than seven of the moral plays. It is also evidently the theme of the oldest English morality of which we have any account, the *Paternoster Play*, which dates from the end of the fourteenth century.

But if we can trust to the chronology of the extant plays as an indication, the *Conflict of Vices and Virtues* did not win its later predominant position without a struggle. If we divide the Moral Plays by the year 1450, we find a significant contrast between the composition of the earlier and later groups. Of the five plays before 1450 (counting the *Paternoster Play*), but two use the *Conflict* theme; whereas the *Coming of Death* is employed three times, the *Debate of the Heavenly Graces* twice, and the *Debate of the Soul and Body* once. The period is one of complex plots, and a number of rival themes are competing for preferment. After 1450, on the other hand, we have in the period under consideration, exclusive of *Magnificence*, eight moral plays. They are all constructed with simple plots, and the use of the *Conflict* theme for seven of the eight shows to what extent this plot had become master

of the field. The late appearance of the *Coming of Death* in *Everyman*, even if it be only a translation, is, however, an indication that this former favorite retained some of its attraction. But all other themes had apparently been relegated to obscurity.

The selection of the *Conflict of Vices and Virtues* as the typical English plot was by no means an accident. The conflict was incomparably the most dramatic form of plot that had yet been discovered on the English stage, and like the Agon of the Old Comedy in Greece, was destined to dominate the first period of English Comedy. Until the dramatists had learned to conceive characters and had transferred their main interest from the discussion of ideas to the delineation of personages, the conflict was almost the inevitable form. The other themes might supply convenient *dénouements*, or, like the *Coming of Death*, form a powerful climax; but at best they were merely scenes, hardly plays. The *Coming of Death*, too, which was its nearest rival, was inherently a tragedy; and the morality writers, who are persistently optimistic, were unwilling to leave it a tragedy. They always contrived to attach an after-scene, such as the *Debate of the Soul and Body*, or the *Debate of the Heavenly Graces*, to relieve the gloom of the sinner's final condemnation. Finding this an awkward matter, they learned more and more to take refuge in the plot of *Conflict of Vices and Virtues*, which offered a self-evident and beautifully regular series of *peripeteiae*, and naturally ended, with the triumph of the virtues, as a comedy in the medieval sense.

The development of this plot, natural as it seems, was not by any means an affair of a single step. It appears, indeed, completed in its main features in the very earliest of the extant examples, the *Castle of Perseverance*. But we have means of going farther back in the history of the plot, and such an examination reveals the fact that, in its customary morality form, the plot is itself a combination of at least two distinct elements. The ultimate source of the theme of the *Conflict of Vices and Virtues* is, as has been universally recognized (cf. Creizenach, I. 463, Chambers, II. 153), the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius. A comparison of the regular morality form of the plot with the plot of the *Psychomachia* shows that a significant variation has been introduced.

The normal form of the *Conflict* type of moralities, as found in eight of our moral plays, runs approximately as follows when stripped to its lowest terms. Humanity, or Mankind, is presented surrounded on the one hand by certain Vices, on the other by certain Virtues. The Vices are assisted by the Devil or his agents, or else combine in themselves the functions of Vices plus Devils or Tempters; and the Virtues are

similarly assisted by God or divine agents, or themselves act as both Virtues and agents of God. Humanity is innocent, and usually inclines to the side of the Virtues. A conflict ensues between the parties of good and evil, which takes the form of a strife for the favor of Humanity. The powers of evil successfully accomplish their temptation. Humanity joins their side, and lives in sin for a season. Another conflict arises; this time the powers of good advance to the attack by persuading Humanity to repentance. Humanity is convicted of sin, and after exhibiting the proper marks of penitence is reclaimed once more to the side of virtue. The plot was often doubled by depicting a renewed assault by the Vices, a renewed fall and life in sin by Humanity, and a renewed repentance; in this case one of the two battles might be made subordinate to the other, or turned into a mere skirmish.

Turning back to the fountainhead, the *Psychomachia*, we find that the road traversed has been a long one. The following brief outline is adapted from that given in the edition of Bergman (Ioannes Bergman, *Aurelii Prudentii Clementis Psychomachia rerum et verborum copia explicata*, Upsaliae, 1897; intro., p. xxv). The *Psychomachia* begins with an invocation to Christ, in contrast to the traditional epic invocation of the muse. Then the virtues are introduced contending with the vices *in single combat*. First is described the duel of Fides and Idololatria, second that of Pudicitia and Libido, third that of Patientia and Ira, fourth that of Humilitas, aided by Spes and Superbia, fifth that of Sobrietas and Luxuria, sixth that of Operatio and Avaritia; in each of these the Virtue is victorious. Next begins the second part of the poem; the first part having described the conflict led by Fides, *i. e.* Christianity, against the vices of heathenism, in the second the internal battles of Christianity with heresies are represented under a contest between Concordia and Discordia. After the victory, Concordia is leading the forces as they march back to camp in triumphal procession. But Discordia has lain disguised among the ranks, and on the very threshold she gives Concordia a secret wound. In the tumult that follows, she is detected and promptly put to death. The triumphal procession is resumed, and the poem closes with discourses by Fides and Concordia and the erection of a temple.

The most striking difference from the later morality form is the entire absence, in the *Psychomachia*, of the hero and central figure of the moralities, Humanity. This omission explains the further omission of the Devils, or devils on the one side and God or his angels on the other. In the conception of Prudentius, Humanity or the Soul of Man furnished

the theatre of his action (cf. the exordium, especially ll. 5, 6, and 14, 15, and also ll. 740–3); naturally it could not appear as one of the actors. The passages cited show the ruling conception of the poem; although as Bergman notes (to l. 741), the poet was naturally not altogether consistent in the use of his allegorical soldiery: "Non sibi constat poeta cum de militibus allegorice canit; quibusdam locis militum catervae i. q. christiani populi, multitudines christianorum hominum sunt (ita ex. gr. vv. 36, 38, 509); alibi autem i. q. sensus varii mentis humanae (ita ex. gr. vv. 5, 729, et hic)." But the representation of the supporters of the Virtues as "multitudines christianorum hominum," even where it occurs, is sufficiently removed from the collective abstraction of a single Humanity.

This absence of the central figure makes an essential difference in the form of the plot. The conflict has no specified object. The combatants fight merely for supremacy. In place of the varied and natural succession of scenes that appear in the later form,—innocence, temptation, life in sin, repentance—we have really but a single scene, the conflict, preceded by a presentation of the combatants and followed by the exultation of the victor, motives hardly affording the material for separate scenes. The story could continue only by a repetition of the same process; and the natural result of the lack of any common object of the conflict was the tendency to break it up into a series of single combats.

Prudentius's plot as originally conceived still lacked much of being a drama. A series of single combats between opposed Vices and Virtues might be turned into a pageant, but could hardly have been unified into a play. In the extant moralities, however, precisely this unification has been given by the addition of the story of frail Humanity, his sinning and his repentance. We naturally look for some intermediate form that may throw light on this very important development. The extant moralities, with one exception, all belong to the later type. But there are strong reasons for thinking that the lost *Paternoster Play* presented exactly the transitional type that we require. Examined from this point of view, the scanty information we possess about it takes on a new interest.

The oft-quoted description of the *Paternoster Play* of York is significant (given in Chambers, II. 404): "Once upon a time, a Play setting forth the goodness of the Lord's Prayer was played in the city of York; in which play all manner of vices and sins were held up to scorn, and the virtues were held up to praise." Such a description could hardly have been applied to the later form, as seen in *Nature*, *Mankind*, or even in the *Castle of Perseverance*. The opposition of the Vices and Virtues

is manifestly in the *Paternoster Play* still the essential thing, and Humanity certainly has not yet become the hero, if indeed he is present at all.

More illuminating is the account given in the Minute-book of Beverley under the date May 29, 1469 (A. F. Leach, *Some English Plays and Players;* Furnivall English Miscellany, pp. 205–234). The following points may be noted from Mr. Leach's report (p. 221): "Seven places for the performance were assigned, and were practically the same as for the Corpus Christi play . . . The players (*lusores*) were: 'Pryde: Invy: Ire: Avaryce: Sleweth: Glotony: Luxuria: Vicious.' Under the heading, 'the craftsmen (*artifices*) and misteries are assigned to play the said play,' is the entry:

'All these worshipful persons (*venerabiles*) and craftsmen were appointed to play the different pagends of Pater Noster, as appears below, namely; To the pageant of Viciose; the gentilmen, merchands, clerks and valets, and Roger Kelk and John Copy were appointed aldermen of the said pageant.'" The other seven pageants follow,—Pride, Lust, Sloth, Gluttony, Hatred, Avarice, Anger,—and after each are placed the names of four to eight crafts. A single alderman was appointed to each pageant except the first, 'Vicious,' which had two.

The last seven pageants are exactly what we might have expected from an attempt to stage the *Psychomachia.* Its series of single combats are here recognizable under the seven pageants named after the seven deadly sins, which have replaced Prudentius's somewhat confused list of vices. They have been completely separated, and, like the different miracle plays of a cycle, are presented by different crafts. It is always unsafe to speculate as to the contents of lost plays, which may some day "return to plague the inventor"; but if we may hazard a guess, these pageants may have been conducted somewhat as follows. The bloody fighting of Prudentius must have passed to the background and been represented more or less symbolically; while the long preliminary or triumphal speeches, which Prudentius, following the epic fashion of describing a single combat, put into the mouths of some of his duellists (Pudicitia, ll. 53–97; Ira, ll. 118–120; Patientia, ll. 155–161; Superbia, ll. 206–252; Spes, ll. 285–304; Sobrietas, ll. 351–406; Avaritia, ll. 511–550; Operatio, ll. 606–628), would inevitably come to the front. The Vice and the corresponding Virtue, attended by appropriate companions (cf. the companions of Humilitas, ll. 243–246; of Luxuria, ll. 432–449; of Avaritia, ll. 464–466), would advance and introduce themselves by indefinitely extended monologues or dialogues in which the clerical

dramatist found a welcome field for the insertion of all his homilies. When the discussion at last was ended, the patience of the auditors would be rewarded by a bit of dumb-show like the throwing of roses[1] in the *Castle of Perseverance*, or by some rough horse-play in which the Vice would be "beten downe" by the Virtue. After the moral had been properly drawn in additional monologues, the pageant would retire and a new pair of combatants would take their place.

It only remains to identify the eighth (or first) pageant, that of "Vicious," with the additional element that we find in the extant moral plays, Humanity with his fall into sin and subsequent repentance. This identification has already been suggested by Mr. Chambers (II. 154): "'Vicious,' probably a typical representative of frail humanity." It seems altogether likely. The pageant of Vicious was evidently the most important of the eight, being placed at the head of the list, assigned to the most dignified classes of the community, and put under the direction of two instead of one alderman. When the time arrived for combining the various members of the morality cycle, as it did for the miracle cycle (witness the *Digby Plays*), it was necessary only to combine the eight Beverley pageants into one to produce something very like the *Castle of Perseverance.*

It forms no part of this study to trace back the superadded allegory of "Vicious" or Humanity through its earlier form, any more than to carry the history of the conflict theme proper through the countless intermediaries that separated Prudentius and the English moralities (the field here remains almost unexplored, but cf. K. Raab, *Über vier allegorische Motive in der lateinischen und deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters*, Leoben, 1885, and W. A. Neilson, *The Origin and Sources of the Court of Love*, Harvard Studies in Phil. and Lit., VI. 1899, pp. 19 ff.).

[1] It is interesting to note that the roses, which in the *Castle of Perseverance* are mentioned as the weapons of Charity and Patience (cf. ll. 2209–2226), had been employed on the opposite side in the *Psychomachia*, where they are used with deadly effect by Luxuria against the squadrons of Sobrietas (ll. 323–331):

> "Non ales arundo
> nervo pulsa fugit, nec stridula lancea torto
> emicat amento, frameam nec dextra minatur.
> Sed violas lasciva iacit, foliisque rosarum
> dimicat, et calathos inimica per agmina fundit.
> Ille eblanditis virtutibus halitus illex
> inspirat tenerum labefacta per ossa venenum,
> et male dulcis odor domat ora et pectora et arma,
> ferratosque toros obliso robore mulcet."

On a similar use of roses as weapons in Goethe's *Faust*, l. 641, and Schiller's *Maria Stuart*, II. 1, 5–20, the passage from the *Castle of Perseverance* has been cited by Max Koch, *Goethejahrbuch*, V. 322 (1884).

But it may be noted that we have just this story of "Vicious," seduced by devils in spite of the aid of angels, in another poem of Prudentius that has been somewhat overshadowed by the *Psychomachia,—Hamartigenia.* The allegory in the latter occupies a much smaller part and is less ingeniously presented than in the more famous poem; but it contains the desired plot, at least in germ, in the passage where its theme, the origin of evil, is elucidated by presenting a typical history (ll. 354–444; ed. Dressel, pp. 144–8). The devil attacks the soul with a crowd of vices who are as much active tempters as passive abstractions; cf. the following (capitals mine), ll. 393–7, 406–8:

> "Namque illic numerosa cohors sub principe tali
> militat, horrendisque animas circumsidet armis,
> Ira, Superstitio, Maeror, Discordia, Luxus,
> sanguinis atra sitis, vini sitis, et sitis auri,
> livor Adulterium, Dolus, Obtrectatio, Furtum . . .
> Heu! quantis Mortale Genus premit inprobus Hostis
> armigeris! quanto ferrata satellite ductor
> bella gerit! quanta victos ditione triumphat!"

The auxiliaries of the Evil One are then described as the seven tribes of Canaan, with their thousands of various weapons and armor. The means of combat is rather deceit than violence (ll. 424–8); and the Human Race, once conquered, submits with blind willingness to its captivity (ll. 429–31). No victims are here mentioned as the aids of mankind; for the vices keep the control when once gained, or at least the writer does not pursue the subject further.

Whether our interpretation of the Beverley *Paternoster Play* is or is not correct, our earliest moral play, the *Castle of Perseverance,* carries in itself evident traces of being the result of some such fusion. In it, the two elements—the Humanity element and the Vices and Virtues element—are far from being joined as organically as in later plays like *Mankind* or *Mary Magdalen.* With a little difficulty they might even be separated, except for the vice Coveytyse, who has been worked into vital connection with the history of *Humanum Genus.* In ll. 2061–2405, taken by themselves, we have a passage in which the fate of Mankind is lost sight of, and the vices and virtues are pitted against each other very much as in the *Psychomachia.* Some progress has been made in uniting them by grouping them, three under Belial, three under Gula; but they fight as individuals with their appropriate opponents. We have a challenging stanza from each Vice, followed by a reply in two stanzas by the corresponding Virtue; then after the first three have thus freed their minds, comes the direction (l. 2199): "*tunc pugnabunt domini*": the Vices

and their leader are repulsed and retire bewailing their wounds; the second three take their place and repeat the very same performance. When Avaritia advances singly to the attack, he adopts a device as characteristic of the later form of the plot as mimic warfare is of the earlier, namely, temptation of Humanum Genus,—and he succeeds where the others failed.

If the theory that the original form of the *Conflict of Virtues and Vices* lacked the central figure of Mankind, and was an actual conflict, not a competition in winning the favor of a passive hero, is correct, it is reasonable to suppose that we should find some trace of this form of the plot surviving. In answer to such a demand, we can point to a single moral play which evidently belongs to the category of those based on the theme of the *Conflict of Vices and Virtues*, but differs from all the rest in lacking the central figure of Humanity or any representative of him. This moral play is *Hickscorner*. Comparatively late, it shows a cast much altered and developed, instead of the primitive Deadly Sins and Cardinal Virtues, but its plot preserves the more primitive form, as our analysis will show.

We are thus able to divide the development of the *Conflict* plot into two stages, which we may call those of the simple and of the blended form. Each of these again falls into two, giving four successive forms. The most primitive form of the simple *Conflict* plot was a series of single combats, directly reflecting Prudentius, and possibly exemplified in the lost *Paternoster Play*, but not actually found. In this form, more properly a series of plays than a play, the sole characters were the abstract Vices and Virtues. The second form, exemplified in *Hickscorner*, combined the single combats into a general engagement, thus producing a plot unified indeed but still without a central figure and still with characters that were pure abstractions.

The third form blended the pure *Conflict* plot with another, the plot of typical Humanity tempted, falling, and restored, and thus worked a radical transformation in characterization, action, and construction. In the presence of the central figure of Humanity, the Vices and Virtues became no longer mere personifications of good and evil, but active tempters or saviors—an immense dramatic gain. The action, instead of attempting to represent temptation allegorically by mimic warfare, represented it actually. But the greatest gain was in construction, the chief superiority of the later *Conflict* form over the other available allegorical plots being its natural succession of varied scenes, which yield easily to analysis. The most primitive form of the plot fell

into two stages: 1. Exposition; 2. Conflict,—in the first of which the combatants explained themselves in lengthy speeches, and in the second fought it out. In the second form, or at least in *Hickscorner*, we find an attempt at greater variety, by having two successive conflicts with different issues, viz. a defeat of the virtues in the first, followed by their triumph in the second. Between the two conflicts would naturally be placed a scene of humorous rejoicing on the part of the Vices or of grief on the part of the Virtues. Thus we get for *Hickscorner* the four stages: 1. Exposition; 2. First Conflict; 3. Triumph of Evil; 4. Second Conflict. In the third form, this repetition of the conflict was necessary, for Mankind must pass from one party to the other and back again. The intervening scene where evil is supreme was also immensely developed in the later plays, and, with the joyous welcome and careful instruction in their lore which the Vices give their newly won companion, became dramatically the strongest scene in the play. In these plays the four stages are more appropriately named from the new point of view of the hero: 1. Innocence; 2. Temptation; 3. Life-in-Sin; 4. Repentance. This form occurs in *Wisdom*, *Mankind*, and the morality part of *Mary Magdalen*.

The fourth form differs from the third merely by again doubling the plot, giving seven stages: 1. Innocence; 2. Temptation; 3. Life-in-Sin; 4. Repentance; 5. Temptation; 6. Life-in-Sin; 7. Repentance,—the stage of Innocence being of course omitted the second time. This doubled form of the plot is found in the *Castle of Perseverance* (modified by combination with other plots), in *Nature*, and in the *Four Elements*. It also occurs in *Mundus et Infans*, with a further peculiar modification; this dramatist, evidently an adherent of the doctrine of original sin, begins his play with Mankind on the side of the Vices, and so omits the first two stages, giving the scheme: 1. Life-in-Sin; 2. Repentance; 3. Temptation; 4. Life-in-Sin; 5. Repentance.

Next in importance to the *Conflict of Vices and Virtues* for the English student is the plot that we have called the *Coming of Death*. This plot is as naturally a tragedy as the other is a comedy; it begins and ends with evil in possession. Thus it violates the fundamental morality canon, a happy ending. This was a troublesome defect. In its pure form, it could be used in England only as a means of disposing of a villainous character like Herod in the course of a miracle play; but it could never be tolerated alone for the hero, who must always be preserved from final ruin and made to triumph in the end. Hence the morality-writers had much ado to superadd a happy ending by the application of

other plot-forms for the *dénouement*. On the other hand, the *Coming of Death* affords a much more dramatic *peripateia* than anything which the *Conflict of Vices* could be made to produce. It was therefore employed in spite of its difficulties, though evidently with diminishing frequency, throughout our period.

Its ways of treatment, in the four examples before us, fall into two distinct groups,—the native plays and the probably foreign *Everyman*. The native plays overcome the difficulty of the tragic ending, except where as in the case of Herod this is appropriate, by combining with another plot-form. One of them, the *Pride of Life*, uses the *Debate of the Soul and Body;* the other, the *Castle of Perseverance*, the *Debate of the Heavenly Graces*. Their version of the plot is dramatically much better than the foreign handling, for it evinces an appreciation of the value of the climax furnished by the entrance of Mors, and carefully prepares the way for it. As thus treated, the plot falls into two natural stages: 1. Prosperity; 2. Destruction.

The Dutch *Everyman* is animated by a radically different purpose. The English plays are essentially portrayals of the death of the wicked man,—a sudden collapse of his defiant security. The foreign play portrays the death of the repentant sinner with all the comforts of religion, certainly a much less dramatic story. Thus the saving device, which in the two English plays is tacked on after death, here comes before death, dispensing with the necessity of any other plot. This would be an advantage, if it did not necessitate putting the climax, the dramatic coming of Death, at the beginning, and separating it from his actual coming by a long repentance scene, which is very similar to the corresponding scene in the *Conflict of Vices and Virtues*. The two stages here, in harmony with the difference in purpose, may be called: 1. Repentance; 2. Pious Death.

The third plot, the *Debate of the Heavenly Graces*, forms but a single scene, and is not susceptible to division into stages. Since the fourth, the *Debate of the Soul and Body*, has not been actually preserved, and is not altogether beyond doubt, we cannot make any analysis of the way in which it was treated.

Between some of these stages there existed an equivalence or a sequence that afforded a natural peg on which to hang a combination of two or more plots. Thus the third stage of the *Conflict* plot, Life-in-Sin, is practically equivalent to the first stage in the *Death* plot, sinful and defiant Prosperity; and accordingly in the *Castle of Perseverance* the two plots are joined by the overlapping of these two stages. Again, the first

stage of *Everyman*, Repentance, is identical with the fourth and last of the Conflict theme. The *Death* plot, finally, may be followed in natural sequence by either the plot of the *Graces* or of the *Soul and Body*, and it is in fact so followed.

In the final play of our series, we have combination of a different sort,—combination joined with transmutation. The four stages of the *Conflict* theme evidently reappear, transmuted in accordance with the shift from theological to economic basis, in the first, second, third, and fifth stages of *Magnificence*. The old stage of Innocence naturally becomes from the new point of view the stage of Prosperity; the Temptation of Mankind by the Vices becomes a Conspiracy against the prince by evil counsellors; instead of Life-in-Sin we have a period of fancied prosperity and real Delusion by the triumphant conspirators; and the play ends with a Restoration to wisdom and prosperity that exactly parallels the Repentance scenes of Skelton's predecessors.

To this manifest parallelism Skelton's fourth stage alone presents an apparent break. But the model for this stage is at hand in the second stage of the *Coming of Death*. Skelton's portrayal of the sudden Overthrow of his mad hero by Adversity and Poverty is quite as evident a transmutation from the stage of Destruction by the unexpected approach of Death as any cited above. The first stage of the *Coming of Death* plot here too fits in with the third of *Magnificence*—Delusion and Prosperity,—and here we have the same overlapping of the two plots noticed above in the *Castle of Perseverance*. *Magnificence* is thus a combination, and the most successful combination, of the chief morality plots.

b. *Growth of the Stages.* These generalizations about the development of the morality plots need, of course, the illustration and support of a detailed analysis of the extant examples of their use up to the time of *Magnificence*. The analysis that follows takes up the three plots in the order of development as sketched above, an order naturally often different from the chronological. Of the *Conflict of Vices and Virtues* we have examples of the second, third, and fourth forms, in seven of our plays; of the *Coming of Death* three examples, the two native plays being radically distinct from *Everyman;* of the *Debate of the Heavenly Graces* one example; and finally a combination of the three plots in the *Castle of Perseverance*. In the case of the mixed miracle-moralities, only the morality part is analyzed.

1. *Hickscorner.* 1. Exposition (1–456). This naturally falls into two parts : a. Virtues introduced successively (1–155). b. Vices introduced successively, quarrelling and finally fighting (156–456).
   2. First Conflict (457–544). Pity remonstrates with the three Vices, but is assaulted, overpowered, and put in the stocks.
   3. Triumph of Evil (545–600). The Vices leave the stage ; Pity in the stocks laments the evil times.
   4. Second Conflict (601–1026). a. With the aid of the other two virtues, Pity converts Free Will (601–888). b. Next Imagination is converted (889–1026).

There is an evident lack of symmetry in the play, due probably to the necessity for compression to fit the number of actors : thus only one of the three virtues is overpowered by the vices in the first conflict, and only two of the three vices converted by the virtues in the second, while the third vice, Hickscorner, unaccountably disappears. The emphasis is laid on the two stages of conflict, and the third stage is disproportionately short and consists only of lamentation, without the corresponding jubilation on the part of the vices. The mode of combat is argument, but the use also of physical violence is a strong mark of the more primitive form. The latter appears only in the First Conflict ; in the Second Conflict, the vices are conquered by being converted instead of being destroyed. This is probably a feature borrowed from the dominant form of the plot. It was also more in harmony with the character-development ; for the characters have advanced far from the primitive abstractions, and become to all intents and purposes persons.

2. *Wisdom.* 1. Innocence (1–324). a. Prologue by Wisdom (1–16). b. Wisdom exhorts Anima, and shows her her five wits and three powers (17–324).
   2. Temptation (325–519). a. Monologue by Lucifer (325–380). b. Lucifer debates with the three powers, and persuades them to follow his counsel (381–519).
   3. Life-in-Sin (520–876). a. Triumphant monologue by Lucifer (520–551). b. The three powers describe their sinful life, introduce their retainers, and lay their plans (552–876).
   4. Repentance (877–1168). a. Awakening, on the return of Wisdom and the appearance of Anima in sorrowful plight (877–1000). b. Sermon by Wisdom while they go to confess (1001–1068). c. Return of Anima and her three powers restored to their former state (1069–1168).

3. *Mankind*. 1. Innocence (1–315). a. Prologue by Mercy (1–44). b. Mischief introduced, then the other Vices by a colloquy with him (45–156). c. Mankind introduced and instructed by Mercy, though with two interruptions (157–315).
   2. Temptation (316–599). a. The first temptation, by Nought, Newguise, and Nowadays, fails ignominiously (316–405). b. Mischief comforts his followers, they collect money, and summon Titivillus (406–517). c. The second temptation by Titivillus is successful (518–599).
   3. Life-in-Sin (600–764). a. Merry-making with the vices (600–726). b. Lament of Mercy (727–764).
   4. Repentance (765–907). a. Awakening on the return of Mercy; the vices very nearly induce him to commit suicide in his despair (765–803). b. Converted by Mercy (804–895). c. Epilogue by Mercy (896–907).

4. *Mary Magdalen*. (The morality part of the mixed play is contained in ll. 49–747, omiting ll. 114–304, 572–587.)
   1. Innocence (49–113, 305–739). a. Mary appears as still innocent, with her father, Martha, and Lazarus (49–113). b. The World, Flesh, and Devil introduce themselves in a monologue each, and lay their plots (305–439).
   2. Temptation (440–469). The Vices besiege the castle; meanwhile the Bad Angel enters with Lady Lechery and entices Mary away.
   3. Life-in-Sin (470–563). a. Tavern scene, Mary with Lady Lechery and Pride called Curiosity (470–546). b. Triumph among the devils (547–563).
   4. Repentance (564–571, 588–747). a. Awakening of Mary by her good angel, and her despair (564–571, 588–614). b. Biblical scene and conversion; expulsion of the seven devils (615–704). c. Rejoicing of the Good Angel; lament of the devils (705–747).

5. *Nature* (Part I). 1. Innocence (1–399). a. Prologue by Nature (1–70). b. Man introduced and exhorted (71–238). c. Debate between Reason and Sensuality (239–399).
   2. Temptation (400–655). Mundus persuades Man to join his service and dismiss Innocence.
   3. Life-in-Sin (656–1320). a. Man put his land in the charge of Covetousness (Worldly Affection) (656–723). b. He puts his wardrobe in the charge of Pride (Worship) (724–1051). c. He

repairs to the tavern, whence we hear a report that he has made friends with Lechery (Bodily Lust) and dismissed Reason (1052–1292). d. Lament of Reason (1293–1320).

4. Repentance (1321–1439, II, 1–63). a. Awakening on the return of Reason; Man is troubled and summons Shamefastness (1321–1390). b. Converted by Reason (1391–1439).

Part II. (Repentance, continued). c. Reason exhorts Man (1–63).

5. Temptation (64–163). Man is easily persuaded by Sensuality again to embrace Lechery.
6. Life-in-Sin (164–823). a. His old friends Lechery, Covetousness, and Pride reappear; and again he sets off for the tavern (164–366). b. Introduced to Sloth and Gluttony (367–635). c. Introduced to Envy and Wrath (636–823).
7. Repentance (824–1421). a. A report that Man, quelled by Age, has again summoned Reason (824–1012). b. Man is exhorted by Reason, and then by each of the seven virtues in turn (1013–1379). c. Finally converted by Reason (1380–1421).

With deadly conscientiousness, the scheme is extended to its farthest limits, and all possible combinations are used. The doubling of the plot found here is handled somewhat more crudely than in the other three plays where this feature occurs; and possibly its use has an intimate connection with the curious division into two parts. We have seen above how external conditions demanding compression cut down the number of actors while multiplying their *rôles*, and how the division was an attempt to evade the same external necessity for abbreviating the length. The disproportionately short first repentance and second temptation stages (nos. 4 and 5) have the air of being arbitrarily inserted to round off the ends of the fracture. If they were removed, together with the recapitulatory scenes at the beginning of the sixth stage (ll. 164–366), the Life-in-Sin stage, evidently the strength of the play, would run symmetrically through the list of the seven vices, from Covetousness to Wrath. We should then have a perfect parallel to the successive introduction of the seven virtues in the last stage.

6. *Four Elements.* Prologue by the Messenger (1–147).
   1. Innocence (148–404). a. Humanity introduced and instructed by Natura (148–324). b. Further instructed by Studious Desire (325–404).
   2. Temptation (405–505). Debate between Studious Desire and Sensual Appetite, by which the latter wins the adherence of Humanity.

3. Life-in-Sin (506–975). a. Humorous scene with the Taverner (506–663). [b. Instructive scene between Experience and Studious Desire (664–883).] c. Another humorous scene between Humanity, Sensual Appetite, and Taverner (884–975).
4. Repentance (976–1141 +. This stage evidently ended somewhere within the pages lost after l. 1141). a. A second debate between the Virtues and Sensual Appetite; this time Sensual Appetite is defeated and dismissed (976–1037). b. Humanity again instructed (1038–1141 +).
5. Temptation (part lost, 1142–1319). a. A rough scene, in which Sensual Appetite, with the aid of some companions, drives out the "losophers" by force (lost). b. Ignorance enters and is told of the combat (1142–1199). c. The two discover Humanity and persuade him again to embrace their delights (1200–1319).
6. Life-in-Sin (1320–1433). a. Dancers introduced give a performance (1320–1382). b. Ignorance amuses Humanity by a song (1383–1433).
7. Repentance (1434–1457 + several pages lost at end). Awakening on the return of Natura (the rest lost).

The author evidently had before him a moral play, perhaps *Nature*, the plot of which he took as a model. But he has treated it arbitrarily, with no sense of organic development. New characters, the virtue Experience and the vice Ignorance, are crudely introduced in the middle or near the end. The only principle is to alternate the "merry" and "sad matter" in approximately equal doses. This appears in the insertion of a wholly inorganic and inappropriate "sad" scene (ll. 664–883) in the midst of the humorous second stage, which perhaps seemed to the author too long a stretch of merriment to waste.

7. *Mundus et Infans.* 1. Life-in-Sin (1–287). a. Prologue by Mundus (1–24). b. Infans introduced and immediately enrolled in the service of Mundus (25–75). c. Continuing in this service, at his seventh year Infans becomes Wanton, at his fourteenth year Lust-and-Liking, at his twenty-first (apparently in l. 144 we should read xxi for xix) year Manhood, after which he is introduced to the seven kings (Vices), and dubbed a Knight (76–287).
2. Repentance (288–521). a. Converted by Conscience after long debate (288–494). b. Monologue of Manhood (495–521).
3. Temptation (522–712). After long debate with Folly, Manhood

is persuaded to follow him to London; he now takes the name of Shame.

4. Life-in-Sin (713–766). The sinful life is supposed to be in progress in London; on the stage the two Virtues bewail Manhood's fall.
5. Repentance (767–979). a. Awakening when he returns, now under the name of Age, old and broken; in despair at his misspent life he looks for death (767–810). b. Again converted by Perseverance, he assumes the name of Repentance (811–979).

The plot is somewhat complicated by the truncated begininng mentioned above, by the biographical feature, which is present in a number of other plays, but nowhere so much emphasized, and by the remarkable restriction to two actors.

8. *The Slaughter of the Innocents, Coventry XIX.* (Only the latter part is here considered, pp. 182–188.) Plot: *The Coming of Death.*
   1. Prosperity (pp. 182–184). a. The soldiers report to Herod that all his commands have been executed. b. Herod boasts his power and prepares a great banquet; he has reached the height of self-satisfaction.
   2. Destruction (pp. 184–188). a. Mors appears invisible and tells how he is God's messenger. b. He kills Herod and the two soldiers in the midst of their revel. c. He hands them over to Diabolus and points the moral.

9. *Pride of Life.* Prologue (1–112).
   A. *The Coming of Death.*
      1. Prosperity (113–502 +). a. The King of Life disdains his Queen's warning of death, and boasts of his soldiers Strength and Health and his messenger Mirth (113–306). b. The Bishop comes, summoned by the Queen, but his warning is likewise rejected (307–450). c. The king sends his messenger Mirth with a challenge for Death (451–502 +).
      2. Destruction (lost, but cf. Prologue, 81–96). (Death fights with the King of Life, overthrows his knights, slays him, and hands over his soul to the fiends.)
   B. *The Debate of the Soul and Body* (?).
   (Lost, but cf. prologue, 97–112.) (Soul and Body dispute which is more guilty; through the intercession of Our Lady the Soul is saved.)

The *Pride of Life* would thus appear to have been an example of

combination of two plots. If the old soul and body *motif*, as Brandl surmises (*Q. und F.*, LXXX, p. xviii), did appear in the closing part, we have lost the only known example of its dramatic use. But it is at least doubtful whether the words of the prologue will support this reconstruction. A comparison of the prologue of the *Castle of Perseverance* shows what limits we must observe in taking these advertising preliminaries for faithful abstracts of what was to come. Indeed, on the basis of this comparison it seems not unlikely that the same plot was used as *finale* in *Pride of Life* as in the *Castle of Perseverance*, namely, the *Debate of the Heavenly Graces;* for in the prologue to the latter (*C. of P.* ll. 118–130) this method of salvation seems to be described as the intervention of "oure lofly lady," who does not actually appear in the play at all; and we have a precisely similar reference to "oure lady mylde" in the prologue to the *Pride of Life* (ll. 97–108). The *Coming of Death* plot, as here treated, has evidently come under the influence of the more allegorical *Conflict* plot. So we find the hero's companions ranged into good and evil advisers; and Stage 1 is not dissimilar to the Life-in-Sin stage of the other plot.

10. *Everyman.* Prologue by the Messenger (1–21).
    1. Repentance. (22–654). a. Awakening at the summons of Death (22–183). b. Failure of worldly friends and despair (184–479). c. Cheered by good deeds and properly converted by Confession and Knowledge (480–654).
    2. Pious Death. (655–901). a. His faculties of mind and body promise to remain with him (655–705). b. He goes to receive the sacrament while the rest discuss the sacredness of priesthood (706–768). c. His faculties all desert him and he descends into the grave (769–901).

    Epilogue by the Doctor (902–921).

The awakening of the sinner is here accomplished by Death instead of by Wisdom, the Good Angel, Reason, or Nature; otherwise, however, the scene is handled very much as in the *Conflict* plays, and gives us what is perhaps our most detailed example of the Repentance stage.

11. *The Salutation and Conception, Coventry XI.* (Only the former part is here considered, pp. 105–111.) Plot: *The Debate of the Heavenly Graces.*
    a. Contemplacio and the Virtues call on the Pater to show grace to mankind (pp. 105–107). b. Veritas and Justitia dispute

with Misericordia and Pax (pp. 107–109). c. They are reconciled by the offer of Filius (pp. 109–111).

12. *The Castle of Perseverance.* Prologue by the Vexillatores (1–156). A. *The Conflict of the Vices and Virtues.*
   1. Innocence (157–326). a. Mundus, Belial, and Caro introduced (157–274). b. Humanum Genus introduced as an infant (275–326).
   2. Temptation (327–448). Debate between Bonus and Malus Angelus; the latter wins the adherence of Humanum Genus.
   3. Life-in-Sin (449–1262). a. Grief of Bonus Angelus (449–457). b. Humanum Genus presented to Mundus (458–788). c. Next conducted to Avaricia (789–882). d. The other six sins summoned and presented (883–1262).
   4. Repentance (1263–1717). a. Bonus Angelus reinforced by Confessio and Penitentia (1263–1339). b. Humanum Genus converted (1340–1535). c. Taken for security to the Castle and presented to the seven Virtues (1536–1717).
   5. Temptation (1718–2557). a. Lament of the Vices and marshalling of both forces (1718–2060). b. The first assault by Belial and the second by Caro repulsed (2061–2405). c. Mundus, aided by Avaricia, succeeds where the others failed, by enticing Humanum Genus to leave the Castle (2406–2557).
   6. Life-in-Sin (2558–2778). a. Lament of the Virtues (2558–2648). b. Humanum Genus cleaves to Avaritia and his greed becomes insatiable (2649–2778).

B. *The Coming of Death.*
   1. Prosperity (identical with last stage of the preceding).
   2. Destruction (2779–3129). a. Mors suddenly appears and pierces Humanum Genus to the heart (2779–2869). b. After being shown his heir by Mundus, he dies (2870–3008). c. Anima is thereupon carried off to hell by Malus Angelus (3009–3129).

C. *The Debate of the Heavenly Graces* (3130–3650).
   a. The four sisters dispute (3130–3229). b. They take the case before Pater-sedens-in-trono (3230–3586). c. He decides for mercy and rescues Humanum Genus from the clutches of Malus Angelus (3587–3650).

From the foregoing analysis, which has purposely been made as uniform in expression as possible, it is not difficult to detect the unity and to trace the growth of the separate stages of each plot in their successive forms. Perhaps the simplest method of doing this is to study the dramatic genealogy of each of the five stages of *Magnificence*, since in so doing we shall cover nearly all the stages enumerated above. A detailed analysis of *Magnificence* has already been given (pp. xxvi-xxviii).

Magnificence has no formal prologue. The prologue, as distinct from the play itself and spoken by a special character, a Messenger or Vexillator, is found only in the two earliest moral plays, *Pride of Life* and *Castle of Perseverance*, in *Four Elements*, and in *Everyman*. It seems inherited from the miracle cycles, such as the *Coventry* and *Chester*. The later plays discard it for an informal prologue,—a more or less introductory monologue which forms an integral part of the opening scene and which is spoken by a regular character. The speaker is usually the most important Virtue,—in *Hickscorner*, Pity, in *Wisdom*, Wisdom, in *Mankind*, Mercy, in *Nature*, Nature; *Mundus et Infans*, however, in accordance with its peculiar opening noticed above, puts its initial speech in the mouth of the evil power Mundus. *Magnificence*, in choosing Felicity to pronounce its opening monologue, follows neither plan, for Felicity is neither Virtue nor Vice, but neutral, though inclined toward virtue's side.

The first stage of *Magnificence*, which we have called Prosperity, finds its antecedents in the stages of the *Conflict* plot which have been each headed as Innocence, or in the single example, *Hickscorner*, of its earlier form, as Exposition,—seven examples in all. The manifest purpose of the stage,—to introduce the three parties, virtues, vices, and hero, and the impending issue—is accomplished in these examples with an increasing success and a growing technical skill. First, we have the crude monologue method, in which each group is brought forward separately and made to present itself either by directly addressing the audience or by dialogue within the group. Thus in the *Castle of Perseverance* first the chief Vices and then the hero speak at length, in *Mary Magdalen* we have the heroine with her family and then the Vices, in *Hickscorner* first the Virtues and then the Vices. The method is undramatic and succeeds at best in introducing only the characters and not the issue.

It must be counted as an advance when we find what may be called the sermon introduction, in *Wisdom*, *Mankind*, *Nature*, and *Four Elements*, where one of the virtues exhorts the still untried hero and

forecasts the coming struggle. The sermon, it is true, is not less tedious than and not very unlike the monologue, with which, indeed, in all four of these plays except the last, it is combined; but it is at least formally addressed to a character and not to the audience, and it unites two of the three groups, virtues and hero. In *Mankind* we have the vices and the one virtue also brought together in a sort of rude debate. But a considerable step forward is taken when in *Nature*, along with both the other methods, we have for the first time the formal *débat*. The *débat* is clearly the most dramatic way to present the issue, and it is found only in *Nature* and in *Magnificence*. It is conducted in both cases not between a vice and a virtue, but between the two semi-neutral characters, and this merely suggests the real struggle that is to follow.

Magnificence is certainly the most skilful of the plays in its handling of this difficult stage. It dispenses with both the monologue, except the brief opening one of Felicity, and the sermon, and introduces the hero and his two satellites, the chief virtue, the chief vice, and the issue, by its formal *débat* and a good deal of informal and lively dialogue.

The second stage of *Magnificence*, Conspiracy, is anticipated in the First Conflict of *Hickscorner*, and the various Temptation stages, ten in all, of the other plays. In these scenes, where the powers of evil gain temporary victories over the powers of good, I have already pointed out the change in the character of the struggle from physical to intellectual. In *Hickscorner* the Vices are victorious in a purely physical contest. In the fifth stage of *Four Elements* also, although the page describing it has been lost, the "losophers" were evidently discomfited by Ignorance and Sensual Appetite in a hand-to-hand brawl. The most obvious refinement upon this method was to replace the physical by an intellectual duel; and the *débat*, which, unlike the merely illustrative ones just cited for the introductory stage, here constitutes a decisive struggle, is found in two cases (*Castle of Perseverance*, stage 2, and *Four Elements*, stage 2).

A more realistic method, however, and a method which is adopted by most of the later plays, does away with any formal contest between abstractions, and substitutes for it a representation of actual temptation, in the shape of subtle persuasion addressed to the hero by some particular Vice. In the *Castle of Perseverance* (stage 5), as has been noted above, we have the older plan of physical combat tried at first but unsuccessfully, and then the newer and craftier method succeeding. Something of the same sort was perhaps intended in *Mary Magdalen;* we have a similar show of violence when the seven sins besiege the castle at l. 439, but the actual conquest made by the evil persuasions of Lady Lechery

within. In *Mankind* also we find an unsuccessful first attempt repulsed by violence, and a success when Titivillus tries the power of suggestion. Persuasion is the sole method, finally, employed in *Wisdom*, *Nature* (both stages 2 and 5), and *Mundus et Infans*.

It is also the method of *Magnificence*, which, however, has one peculiar feature: the temptation, which is accomplished by several of the Vices and at different times, takes place off the stage, and is brought to us only by report. On the stage we continue to watch the introduction and elaborate characterization of the six Vices, of which the first stage gives us only the beginning. For these later introductions Skelton falls below the high level of the first stage. He returns to the undramatic method of monologue mixed with dialogue between the vices, and during the whole stage banishes the other groups, thus making it necessarily episodic. Accordingly the second stage is the most tedious of *Magnificence*.

The third stage of *Magnificence*, Delusion, in part corresponds to the stage of Life-in-Sin of the *Conflict* plot. Of this there are twelve examples before us, counting the third stage of *Hickscorner* as a rudimentary form of it. In *Hickscorner*, in the absence of any hero, the stage could have no other content than an expression of the triumph of the Vices or the grief of the Virtues over the outcome of the preceding struggle, and the latter is the one employed. Either motive was comparatively barren, and in the other moral plays we find both less used as time goes on. Only in the *Castle of Perseverance* (stages 3 and 6) and Mankind have we a formal lament of the Virtues, and only in *Wisdom* and *Mary Magdalen* a formal jubilation of the Vices.

The portrayal of the hero's sinful life, on the other hand, was heavily emphasized, and usually became the chief scene of the play. The ways in which it is treated may be considered as two, the analytic and the humorous. The former conducts the hero, once fallen, through a series of vices which with theological preoccupation it carefully distinguishes; the latter is concerned only in extracting from these improper experiences their natural humor. The analytic method sprang inevitably from the process of combining the earlier single combats between separate vices and virtues such as we seem to have in the *Paternoster Play*; from this point of view it might be called with equal justice synthetic. Its gradual passing and the growth of the humorous spirit is of course vitally important for the development of the whole morality species. This stage was the womb of the nascent comedy.

The analytic method is illustrated in the *Castle of Perseverance*

(stage 3), which introduces the reader, in succession, to the three powers of evil and the seven deadly sins; in *Wisdom*, which plunges the three faculties of the soul finally into no less than twenty-one separate sins; in *Nature* (if we combine stages 3 and 6), which describes at length the hero's acquaintance with the seven sins under their various aliases; and in *Mundus et Infans*, which carries the sinner through the first four successive ages of his life and also presents him to the seven sins (the seven "kings," ll. 168–195). But even in these, except *Wisdom*, we can find some admixture of the humorous: in the *Castle of Perseverance* principally in the scenes where *Detractio*, *Voluptas*, and *Stultitia* appear; in *Nature* principally in the tavern scenes that occur off the stage and are reported to us; and in *Mundus et Infans* in the hero's London life, similarly reported. The humorous spirit alone reigns in the mock court scene of *Mankind*, the song and dance of the *Four Elements* (stage 6), and the tavern scenes of *Mary Magdalen* and the *Four Elements* (stage 3). Perhaps the tavern scenes, in their characterization and spirit in the three plays where they occur, furnish the nearest approach in the moral play to the comedy.

Magnificence is distinctly less advanced toward the comic goal in its treatment of this stage than are several of its predecessors. It employs principally the analytic method, continuing the process begun in the second stage of acquainting the prince with its evil advisers until he has suffered the baleful influence of each of the six in turn. It has, however, a touch of the humorous spirit in the scene where Folly recites his rimes (scene 28; cf. *Four Elements*, stage 6), and a faint suggestion of the spirit of the tavern in the scene where Courtly Abusion makes his dissolute proposals (scene 24; cf. *Four Elements*, stage 3).

But beside the Life-in-Sin stage of the *Conflict* plot, *Magnificence* here, like the *Castle of Perseverance* in its sixth stage, may also be regarded as giving a version of the stage of Prosperity in the plot of the *Coming of Death*. Of this we have two independent examples in *Coventry XIX* and the *Pride of Life*. Its contribution to the third stage of *Magnificence* consists of two features. The overconfidence in their apparent good fortune of Herod and the King of Life is portrayed by their boastful speeches, and in the case of the King of Life is further emphasized by his rejection of warnings. Both of these motives recur in *Magnificence;* note the hero's monologue, scene 23, the warning of Felicity, scenes 20–22, and that of Measure, scene 25.

The fourth stage of *Magnificence*, Overthrow, comes altogether from the plot of the *Coming of Death*. It is evidently a version, in terms of

the secularizing metamorphosis of the whole play, of the stage of Destruction found in the *Pride of Life*, *Coventry XIX*, and the *Castle of Perseverance*. This stage fell naturally into three divisions: the first part introduces Mors, or Death, in each case by a solemn monologue in which he proclaims himself a mere servant of God, an agent of Divine justice; then the effect of Death's stroke on the hero is represented, in the case of Herod merely by dumbshow, in the *Castle of Perseverance* by a protracted scene in which Humanum Genus is shown his heir and laments his doom; and finally the soul is turned over to the waiting fiends. About this order was evidently followed in the *Pride of Life*, if we may trust the prologue. In *Magnificence*, again, we find just these natural motives worked out with the changes made necessary by the novel characters and spirit. The monologue of Death is replaced by that of Adversity and his companion Poverty in the first two scenes of the stage (scenes 31, 32); the new substitutes speak exactly as in the earlier monologues of their divine commission. The next six scenes (scenes 33–38) portray *Magnificence* after the stroke of fortune; just as in the *Castle of Perseverance* his sorrow is doubled by seeing the successors to his happiness and prosperity. Finally (scenes 39, 40) he is visited by Mischief and Despair, who with their sulphurous exclamations "Alarum," "Out harowe," "Hyll burneth" (ll. 2323, 4), are patently the fiends of the earlier plays.

For the fifth stage of *Magnificence*, Restoration, we must return to the *Conflict* plot and the stage of Repentance. There are eleven examples of this stage in the plays before us, or twelve, if we count the Repentance stage of *Everyman*, which is in some respects the most complete form of all. The Second Conflict of *Hickscorner* of course is also counted here. There remains still less of the original struggle here than in the stage of Temptation. No play, not even *Hickscorner*, preserves a physical struggle here; only one, *Four Elements* (stage 4), has even an intellectual struggle, or *débat*, between the two sides; and *Mary Magdalen* alone has in any form the scene of triumph on the part of the virtues and lament of the vices that must have followed the original struggle. All the rest treat this stage as the later plays treat the Temptation stage, as portraying the peaceful conversion of the hero by persuasion. This process falls regularly into three parts.

First the hero is awakened to his sinful state, usually by the return of the virtue whose counsels he has neglected (*Wisdom*, *Mankind*, *Four Elements* 7) or by his good angel (*Mary Magdalen*, *Nature* 4), in two cases by the coming of age (*Nature* 7, *Mundas et Infans* 5), in one case

by Death (*Everyman*). An important feature of this scene of awakening is the despair in which the hero is plunged; only touched upon in *Wisdom* and *Nature* 4, it is represented as acute in *Mary Magdalen* and *Everyman*, in *Mundus et Infans* 5 the sinner looks for Death (l. 804), and in *Mankind* he actually tries to commit suicide. This last development we have again in *Magnificence*, where Skelton has cleverly used it as the hinge between his fourth and fifth stages. His devils, Despair and Mischief, naturally could not lead the overthrown prince off to hell, as they were wont to do in the older theological plays; and Skelton substitutes the suicide motive from the other plot, where it formed a natural transition to the stage of repentance. No evidence exists for a direct use on Skelton's part of *Mankind*, but the practical identity of these two scenes is enough to show his familiarity either with it or with others that had a like development of the scene of awakening.

Three of our stages of repentance, in *Hickscorner*, *Mundus et Infans* 2, and the *Castle of Perseverance*, omit this preliminary scene of awakening and despair, and pass at once to the actual conversion. This is of course the main part of the stage, and is always included in some form, except in *Four Elements* 4, where as noted above the *débat* replaces it, and in *Four Elements* 7, which probably once contained it in the pages that are lost. In *Hickscorner* we should not expect a conversion in the absence of a hero, but the author was induced by the prevailing fashion inappropriately enough to convert two of his vices instead. In *Magnificence* the scene reappears, less transformed than any other part of the play, in the dialogue between the despairing prince and Good Hope. It was indeed capable of little variation, and we find in every case the Grace or the Good Angel comforting the despondent sinner, arguing him into a change of heart, and loading him with good advice.

Still a third motive was developed in some plays, apparently more in the older ones; corresponding to the analytic way of developing the stage of Life-in-Sin by introducing successively the different vices, there might be here a presentation to the different virtues. In the *Castle of Perseverance* and in *Nature* 7, the hero, who has formerly met each of the seven deadly sins, is here introduced to the seven cardinal virtues. This long and tedious scene was naturally dropped in plays with less ample limits; but in *Magnificence* it reappears in modified form. After Good Hope the hero is introduced successively to Redress, Circumspection, and Perseverance, and lectured by each in turn.

The formal epilogue, apart from the play and spoken by a special character, is still rarer than the formal prologue. It is found only in

Everyman. But the informal epilogue, addressed to the audience by one of the regular characters, usually by one of the virtues, naturally develops in a number of the plays. In *Mundus et Infans* it is merely a short speech by the hero and his adviser; in the *Castle of Perseverance* and *Mankind* it has become more of a sermon; and in *Wisdom* it has grown still longer and is followed by exhortations by each of the converted faculties. In *Nature* the unusual expedient is adopted of ending by singing "some goodly ballet." In *Magnificence* the address to the audience is made especially artificial and distinct from the preceding, as has been noted above (p. lxiii), by a special metrical form.

We have thus covered, in tracing the antecedents for the different stages of *Magnificence*, almost every part of every previous morality. There remain only the second stage of *Everyman*, which I have called Pious Death, and which has no parallel elsewhere in the English field, and the two examples of the *Debate of the Heavenly Graces*, *Coventry XI*, and the *Castle of Perseverance*, with a possible third occurrence in the lost end of the *Pride of Life*. This plot passed out of favor in the moralities too early to admit of much development, of which, indeed, it was hardly capable.

Before leaving the question of plot, it is of interest to note the rise of one dramatic device during this period, the device, namely, of reporting action not actually represented on the stage. It is a part of the *naïveté* of the primitive and popular moral play, of which the *Castle of Perseverance* is our best example, that everything must be acted, nothing left to the imagination. The compression which influences these later plays so powerfully, together with a curious regard for unity of place that runs through all of them, made necessary the indirect method. The most natural way to do this, and one in which there was of course nothing new, was for the character to relate the experiences through which, off the stage, he has just passed, as the vices do on their entrance in *Hickscorner;* and this was often reinforced by a preliminary announcement, as when in *Wisdom* and *Everyman* the repentant sinners leave the stage to go to confession, or by a marked change in appearance on their return, as when Anima returns befouled in *Wisdom*, when Shame returns from his London life as Age in *Mundus et Infans*, or when the revellers in *Mankind* return, with pieces of the fetters and ropes upon them, from their encounter with the law. But a distinct heightening of the dramatic effect is further introduced when the unseen action is reported while it is still going on. The three plays that include tavern scenes give us a perfect illustration of the three steps of this process.

The primitive *Mary Magdalen* is the only one that shows us an actual tavern with its inmates. The *Four Elements* merely announces the hero's visit to it beforehand and gives his reminiscences afterwards. *Nature*, finally, brings in messengers from time to time who keep us posted on the progress of events thereat.

The process, it must be admitted, is not in all respects a gain, and runs rather counter to the other tendency towards humor. Certainly in *Nature* it would have been livelier to have the tavern brought before us. But there was an undeniable gain in the power thus acquired of imaginatively extending the stage; and in the feeling for unity of place, surprising in view of the freedom of the later English drama, lay a valuable aid in bringing form out of formlessness.

Besides the tavern scene in *Nature*, the device just discussed occurs only in *Magnificence*, in the struggles at court reported to us during the second stage. Dr. A. Koelbing (*Zur Charakteristik John Skelton's*, Stuttgart, 1904) has criticized Skelton's play (p. 150) for the sudden alteration in character that Magnificence exhibits on his return to the stage at l. 1375. But a closer examination of the previous scenes will show how carefully the alteration has been prepared and how gradual it really is.

IV. Cast.

a. *General Historical Development.*

The cast of the primitive moralities was quite as rigidly determined as their plot. Just as each story used as the basis of a miracle play carried with it a set of characters familiar and fixed by holy writ or legend, so each of the plots used by the moralities had its equally well-known and equally fixed scheme of personages. Pilate afforded quite as much room for character invention as Avarice, and Joseph as Penitence. There was indeed more scope for original character drawing in the miracles, because the number of *rôles*, like the number of plots, was vastly larger. But the original rigidity of the morality casts began to break up much sooner than the rigidity of their plots. The external demand for simplification and abbreviation bore especially hard on the available number of performers. It was met by selection, then by combination, and finally freedom was won to introduce altogether new personages to embody new ideas. Each of the three plots which we have in extant form contributed its quota to a stock of allegorical figures which later could be drawn on almost indiscriminately.

In examining the original character-scheme of the *Conflict of Vices and Virtues*, we are able to distinguish its earlier and later components even more clearly than in the plot. The personages of the *Psychomachia* are limited to the class of abstract vices and virtues. The same is true apparently of the personages in the first seven pageants of the *Paternoster Play*, called by the names of the seven deadly sins; although the ethical scheme of Prudentius has been simplified into the canonical list of the deadly sins on the one side, and their opposite virtues, whose presence in the *Paternoster Play* is undoubtedly implied, on the other. All these characters had but one object, and that the opposite of a dramatic object, —to embody allegorically a list of abstract conceptions. It is hard to see how they could ever, without reinforcements, have become real *dramatis personae*.

The eighth pageant, that of "Vicious," may be supposed to have contained in rudimentary form the additional elements which we find in the earliest moral plays preserved. Among these the foremost is, of course, Humanity under his various names. But the opposing sides in this plot brought into the combined result modifications that were equally significant. They are still representatives of Evil and of Good, but with a different and more dramatic object,—to tempt or to win back Humanity. Accordingly we find beside the abstract vices and virtues a group of devils on the one side and of angels or divine figures on the other.

Two of these, the Malus Angelus and the Bonus Angelus, seem from the first to have occupied a position especially close to the hero, and to have been the most active in tempting and in counteracting temptation. Both were subordinate, however, and acted as agents for their respective chiefs. At the head of the side of Evil was the Devil, and with him the other two members of the infernal trinity, the World and the Flesh, perhaps to balance the Trinity which may have appeared originally on the side of the virtues; though in the extant plays only the Father and the Son actually appear, and these never together. These royal figures do not usually approach Mankind directly, but do their work through the Bad Angel and his companion devils, the Good Angel and his fellow angels or graces.

It was, of course, inevitable, after the combination, that the regular vices and virtues should also be employed as tempters or as divine agents. Even before there was a definite person to be tempted, the vices of Prudentius are often described as if they were devils, seducing the more feeble Christians (cf. ll. 11–13, Libido in ll. 55, 56, Luxuria in ll. 340–343, and especially Avaritia in ll. 493–496). After the introduction of

Mankind, they naturally became important coadjutors to the demons, acquired still more of the devilish nature, and later were often charged with the entire task of the temptation. Thus they were drawn into connection with the infernal hierarchy, and in the earliest types we find them regularly assigned to their respective superiors, World, Flesh, or Devil. The virtues are much less modified from their original function of abstractions than the vices. The task of winning back the sinner to repentance is usually performed by a distinct class of figures who may be grouped as the Graces of Penitence.

A third object in the economy of the drama, in the case of the representations of evil, brought another important modification. Besides passively depicting wickedness and actively tempting Mankind, they were increasingly called upon to afford amusement. The humorous element appears at first diffused, although usually more conspicuous in some vice or devil than in the others. Gradually certain figures, and finally one figure, is specialized for this purpose. The term "Vice," originally the proper title for the simple abstractions who represented the side of evil, persisted for this later development, and came to be used in some cases, e. g. Heywood's two "Vices," when there was not a trace of any positively evil quality. Just as the primitive vices had absorbed in themselves the function of the devils, so they added to their repertory the new function of the fool. This was an office that naturally found nothing to correspond to itself on the side of the good; here the growing strength of the humorous element had no outlet, except when the author, as in *Mankind*, was willing to join his vices in laughing at his virtues.

Although in the moral plays before us there is no case where, as in Heywood's farces, the chief humorous figure comes from outside of the old circle of abstractions, they do contain a number of minor extraneous characters. These newcomers increase in the later plays. Their earliest representative is the Taverner, who, though not in any way conceived as a vice, naturally accompanied the vices during the Life-in-Sin stage of the play. With him he brought a number of types, whose morals are more or less questionable, and whose doings blossom forth in the later interludes into many scenes of low comedy.

To sum up, then, we find three classes of good characters, and four of evil: on the one side, the virtues proper, who are the most primitive element, the divine figures, and their agents,—the last two being the ones actively engaged in rescuing Mankind from his tempters and finally saving him; on the other side, the vices proper, the evil powers, the

agents of evil, and finally the extraneous evil types, who are nearly always humorous in purpose, and who are always found on the side of the vices. Or, to put it formally, the complete ideal scheme of a moral play of the *Conflict* type would be as follows:

I. *Neutral:* Mankind.

II. *Representatives of Good.* a. *virtues proper:* Meekness, Patience, Charity, Chastity, Abstinence, Occupation, Liberality.
   b. *good powers:* the Trinity.
   c. *agents of good:* the Good Angel; Graces such as Penitence, Confession, Mercy.

III. *Representatives of Evil.* a. *vices proper:* Pride, Wrath, and Envy (commonly attached to the Devil); Lust, Gluttony, and Sloth (commonly attached to the Flesh); Avarice (attached to the World).
   b. *evil powers:* Devil, Flesh, World.
   c. *agents of evil:* the Bad Angel, other devils, vices.
   d. *evil types:* the Taverner and others.

The personages in the *Coming of Death* plot differ significantly from those in the *Conflict* plot. Man is the central figure here as there; but it is Man about to die, and yet at the height of his worldly prosperity. The original *dause macabre* seems to have had a succession of heroes of all the social types in turn. In the moral plays, where but one remains, naturally it is the king who is generally chosen. The hero of the *Conflict* plays was often of high rank; but there did not exist the same dramatic need to exalt him. The two groups between whom he is placed are here, not the vices and virtues, but the creatures of this world and of the next, the two worlds of Life and of Death. The former group naturally tend to be types of his associates, or if allegorical figures, they represent his external possessions or qualities, not his internal qualities; we find his servants, friends, wife, his wits, health, or strength. The glance of the dying man is directed not within, but without, on what he is to leave behind him. These figures are found in two of our four plays divided into those of the side of good and evil; but it seems likely that this division is a reflection of the familiar *Conflict* plot, and not an original feature. The next world to which the hero hastens is represented first of all by Death, and then he enters one of the two kingdoms that divide the unseen world between them, members of one or both of which may appear on the stage. Death himself bears a somewhat ambiguous relation to these two realms. From one point of view he is sent by God and is

simply one of his agents, "Goddys masangere," as he is often called. On the other hand, he is a friend of the fiends in so far as he hands over to them their eagerly expected prey.

The formal scheme for the cast of this type of moral play would thus be as follows:

I. *Hero:* Man, commonly a King.
II. *Representatives of This World:* Friends, Officers, Servants, Kinsmen, Wealth, Strength, Wits (later divided into good and evil influences).
III. *Representatives of the Next World:* a. Death.
b. God, and his angels.
c. The devil, and his fiends.

The third of our morality plots, the *Debate of the Heavenly Graces*, shows the simplest character scheme. The scene is entirely in heaven. The principal figures, the debaters, are invariable: the four "daughters," Mercy and Peace on the one side, Righteousness and Truth on the other. As judges of the debate the whole Trinity may be present, or only God the Father. The occasion in the original form of the play must have been the council which resulted in the Incarnation; but in the *Castle of Perseverance* it is applied to the later settlement of the fate of a typical sinner's soul. Mankind is potentially though not actually present in both forms.

In cases of combination, there were as many points of coincidence between the three casts as we have seen above to have existed between the three plots. Mankind and God were common to all three; the devils belonged as much to the *Conflict of Vices and Virtues* as to the *Coming of Death;* and the four "daughters" of the third plot might naturally offer suggestions for the Graces of the first. We have such combination in the *Castle of Perseverance* and probably also in the *Pride of Life*, which stand at the beginning of the development; and again in *Magnificence*, which comes at the end of it.

b. *Growth of the Groups.* The arrangement of the moral plays according to their development of the cast naturally differs somewhat from that suggested above according to plot. Plays that were primitive in plot might sometimes, as is the case with *Hickscorner*, adopt a cast which was by no means primitive. The logical order here, however, is not as easy to fix. In handling the cast, the tendency was to advance along diverse lines, rather than, as in the matter of plot, to follow a common movement. In the casts of the *Conflict* plays, we seem to have

four of these diverse lines of progress. Nearest to the primitive scheme, as it is conjectured above, are the casts of the *Castle of Perseverance* and *Mary Magdalen*. The most important direction in which this came to be modified was perhaps the philosophical, i. e. the gradual substitution of philosophical and secular ideas for the original purely theological conceptions. This direction is pursued by *Nature* and, in close dependence upon it, by *Four Elements;* it is also the one followed for the most part by *Magnificence*. Another path, which may be called psychological, analyzes and separates the mental powers of the central figure Mankind, and erects a new scheme of vices and virtues on this analysis; here belong *Wisdom* and *Hickscorner*. A third modification which may be called the biographical, is made by *Mundus et Infans*. Finally, we have the purely humorous development, illustrated in *Mankind*. The four methods are not mutually exclusive; I have simply classified the plays according to that which seems to predominate. In the four *Coming of Death* plays, I have put first the two that show no trace of contamination with the *Conflict* plot, and hence may be regarded as more primitive, and last the foreign *Everyman*, which in cast as in plot has its distinctive features.

1. *Castle of Perseverance.* A. *The Conflict of Vices and Virtues.*
   - I. *Neutral:* Humanum Genus, Anima.
   - II. *Good.* a. *virtues proper:* Humilitas, Paciencia, Caritas, Abstinencia, Castitas, Solicitudo, Largitas.
     - b. *good powers:* Pater.
     - c. *agents of good:* Bonus Angelus; Confessio and Penitencia.
   - III. *Evil.* a. *vices proper* (in three groups): Superbia, Ira, and Invidia; Gula, Luxuria, and Accidia; Avaricia.
     - b. *evil powers:* Belial, Caro, Mundus.
     - c. *agents of evil:* Malus Angelus; Detraccio, Voluptas, and Stulticia.

We have here all the figures demanded by our scheme, with the exception of the other two members of the Trinity. The three infernal powers are present with the customary assignment of vices. One of them, however, Mundus, is made much more important than the other two; and his special vice, Avaricia, is given the chief part in the seduction of Humanum Genus, and thus becomes an active tempter as well as abstract vice. His importance is marked by the possession of a special scaffold. To Mundus's scaffold are assigned the three novel

figures, Detraccio, Voluptas, Stulticia, evidently to balance the three vices each that attend upon Belial and Caro. These three servants of Mundus no doubt replace the demons that we find used as messengers in *Mary Magdalen.*

2. *Mary Magdalen.*
   I. *Neutral:* Mary.
   II. *Good.* a. (no virtues).
      b. *good powers:* Christ.
      c. *agents of good:* Good Angel.
   III. *Evil.* a. *vices proper* (in three groups): Pride, *alias* Curiosity the Gallant, and Covetise; Sloth, Gluttony, and the Lady Lechery; Wrath and Envy.
      b. *evil powers:* King of the World, King of the Flesh, and the "Dylfe."
      c. *agents of evil:* Bad Angel; Belfagour and Belzabub, and other devils, servants of the "Dylfe"; Sensuality, the World's messenger.
      d. *evil types:* the Taverner.

Here we find considerable modification. The side of the Good is cut down ruthlessly; beside Christ, who is furnished by the miracle, we find only the Good Angel, and no virtues. The vices are present, with a different and apparently unique grouping, and the three powers. In the temptation, which is almost entirely in their hands, the Flesh takes the lead, though the scheme is not so much distorted as, in the *Castle of Perseverance*, it is in favor of Mundus. The inferior devils are probably a primitive feature. We have the first appearance of Sensuality, here a messenger of the World. One figure, the Taverner, is introduced merely for amusement, altogether outside of the allegorical scheme.

3. *Nature.*
   I. *Neutral:* Man, Innocency.
   II. *Good.* a. *virtues proper:* Meekness, Charity, Patience, Occupation, Liberality, Abstinence, Chastity.
      b. *powers of good:* Nature.
      c. *agents of good:* Reason; Shamefastness (Man also indicates Repentance, Confession, Heart's-Contrition, and perhaps Satisfaction, cf. II. ll. 1404–7).
   III. *Evil.* a. *vices proper* (grouped as follows): Covetise *alias* Worldly Affection (cf. ll. 1217, 1236, II. 995), Pride *alias* Worship (cf. ll. 838, 1213), and Lechery *alias* Lust (cf. ll.

1227, II. 164); Sloth *alias* Ease (cf. ll. 1224, II. 457) and Gluttony *alias* Good Fellowship (cf. ll. 1221, II. 767); Wrath *alias* Manhood (cf. ll. 1219, II. 746) and Envy *alias* Disdain (cf. ll. 1220, II. 739).

b. *evil powers:* Mundus (the Flesh and the "Enemy" indicated, II. 13).

c. *agents of evil:* Sensuality.

d. *evil types:* Garcio (the vices also indicate the Taverner, Margery, Kate, etc., cf. ll. 1112 ff., II. 92 ff.).

God is replaced by Nature, the Good Angel by Reason, the Bad Angel by Sensuality. Mundus has here crowded the other two members of the infernal trinity out of the play entirely. The assignment of vices is evidently at bottom the same as in the *Castle of Perseverance*, though disguised: Man is first introduced to Covetise, the vice of the World, who is here as in the *Castle of Perseverance* the chief tempter, and then to Pride and Lechery, the chief vices respectively of the Devil and the Flesh; in the second part of the play he meets the other two vices of the Flesh, Sloth and Gluttony, and then the other two of the Devil, Wrath and Envy. There are no under-devils, as in *Mary Magdalen;* the Devil and his crew is being discarded in favor of the more cultured Mundus. The author has imagined a rich group of purely humorous figures; in the interests of comedy, if not of morals, it is a pity that he did not dare to bring them on the stage.

4. *Four Elements.*

I. *Neutral:* Humanity.

II. *Good.* a. *virtues proper:* Experience.

b. *good powers:* Natura Naturata.

c. *agents of good:* Studious Desire.

III. *Evil.* a. *vices proper:* Ignorance.

b. *evil powers:* (none).

c. *agents of evil:* Sensuous Appetite.

d. *evil types:* the Taverner.

The original figures here are Experience, i. e. Experiment, who replaces all the seven virtues for the scientifically-minded author, and Ignorance, who is the sum of all the vices. For the rest he gives us simply the chief characters of *Nature* under thinly disguised names. We have here evidently to do with no churchman, in his sympathies at least, but a scientist who cared little for the theological categories. His production is therefore all the more valuable and significant for us, because he has

seized and shows us what were the really living elements of the morality cast. Both of these closely connected plays, in their substitution of philosophical for theological conceptions, give us exactly the needed transition from the primitive cast to the cast of Magnificence.

5. *Wisdom.*

I. *Neutral:* Anima; the Five Wits; the three Faculties, Mind, Will, and Understanding.

II. *Good:* Wisdom, who is Christ.

III. *Evil.* a. *vices proper* (in three groups): Maintenance and his six yeomen, Indignation, Sturdiness, Malice, Hastiness, Wreche, and Discord; Perjury and his six "jurors," Wrong, Sleight, Doubleness, Falseness, Ravine, and Deceit; Lechery and his six women, Recklessness, Idleness, Surfeit, Greediness, Spousebreach, and Fornication.

b. *evil powers:* Lucifer (the World and the Flesh also indicated, l. 294).

c. *agents of evil:* the six small devils, l. 916, with Anima, who has herself become "fowlere than a fende," l. 906.

6. *Hickscorner.*

I. *Neutral:* (none).

II. *Good.* a. *virtues proper:* Pity, Perseverance, and Contemplation.

b. *good powers:* (none).

c. *agents of good:* (none).

III. *Evil.* a. *vices proper:* Hickscorner, Free Will, and Imagination.

b. *evil powers:* (none).

c. *agents of evil:* (none).

These two plays, which must be studied together, give us a development of the original cast quite apart from that of any of the other moral plays. Hence *Wisdom*, although it is earlier in date than either *Four Elements* or *Nature*, cannot be regarded as genetically their predecessor, except in one particular,—its mention of Reason and Sensuality. These two parts of the soul, which draw it respectively upward and downward, are described, though not actually personified, in *Wisdom* first among the moral plays (ll. 135–160); and later comes the important place assigned them in *Nature* as substitutes for the old Good and Bad Angel, and again in *Four Elements*, with a change of name to Studious Desire and

Sensual Appetite. The tendency to division of the *rôle* of Mankind along psychological lines appears also faintly in the separation of Humanum Genus and his Anima in the *Castle of Perseverance*, and of Man and his Innocency at the beginning of *Nature*. But none of these cases give us an adequate parallel to *Wisdom*, either for the extreme way in which it carries out the analyzing tendency, or for the actual divisions which it selects.

The play begins with Anima. Then we have a procession of the five wits, which serves absolutely no purpose in the play except the spectacular. Then come the three faculties of the soul, Mind, Will, and Understanding, who take the leading part in the subsequent temptation. In this scene appears another unique feature of the play, the transformation idea, according to which the sinner becomes actually changed into the vice of which he is chiefly guilty; as the play puts it (ll. 913, 914):

> "As many dedly synnys as ye haue vsyde,
> So many deullys in yowur soule be."

Thus Mind is transformed (l. 696) into Maintenance, Understanding (l. 728) into Perjury, Will (l. 750) into Lechery, and Anima herself (l. 906) into a fiend. The four are each accompanied by six others like unto themselves. Thus we have in all twenty-one vices and seven devils, and many opportunities for the rich costumes and balanced processions in which the author evidently took special delight.

In this unparalleled multiplicity of vices we seem at first sight to have mere arbitrary invention and a complete relinquishment of the original scheme of the seven deadly sins. But closer examination shows that we have merely a subdivision of the original seven, much as in the "tre of vices" given in the *Kalender of Shepherdes* (pp. 42 ff.); many of the "twigs" of this are identical with characters of our play. The subdivision is made in close connection with the analysis of Anima into her three faculties. These are associated each with one of the three evil powers whom we have seen in the other plays to have divided among them the seven vices. Through a long scene of painful distinctions (ll. 552–876) the author works his way from the broad vices of the original scheme to the special political abuses that he wishes to strike. Thus Mind falls especially under the domination of Belial and his chief vice, Pride, which takes the form of love of "curious array" (l. 612), then "service of mighty lordship" (l. 633), then "maintenance" (l. 656); Understanding follows the World and Covetousness, and the dramatist develops this idea through love of riches (l. 584), perversion of truth by

wealth (ll. 604–6) to the rather strange conclusion of falseness (l. 613) and perjury (l. 640–7) (but cf. the *Kal. of Shep.*, which gives "disceyuynge," "lyenge," "false wytnesse" and the like, as among the branches of covetousness); and Will is seduced principally by the Flesh through its chief vice Lechery. The conclusion of the process is given in a single stanza when the three describe their depraved condition as follows (ll. 656–9):

"Mind. Law procedyth not for Meyntnance.
Understanding. Trowthe recurythe not for habundance.
Will. And Lust ys in so grett vsaunce,
We fors yt nought."

The six followers that accompany each of these three vices are either synonymous with them or derived like them from the other vices that in the original scheme belonged to the same evil power. These equivalents will appear in the following table:—

Mind	Devil	Pride	Maintenance.
		Anger	Indignation, Sturdiness, Hastiness.
		Envy	Malice, Wreche, Discord.
Will	Flesh	Lust	Lechery, Spouse-breach, Fornication.
		Sloth	Idleness, Recklessness.
		Gluttony	Surfeit, Greediness.
Under-standing	World	Covetousness	Perjury, Wrong, Sleight, Doubleness, Falseness, Ravine, Deceit.

It would of course have been possible to treat the side of Good with similar elaboration. This is not done in *Wisdom;* it has but one representative of Good, the Second Person of the Trinity, and not a single virtue. A beginning, however, is made when the three faculties are associated each with one of the Trinity (ll. 279–84) and also with one of the three Christian graces, Faith, Hope, and Charity (ll. 285–8); and other plays now lost may have carried out the process. At any rate, in *Hickscorner* we have the three resultant states of mind in its names for its three virtues. Only on this supposition can we account for the selection there made: Pity is the virtuous state of the Mind (see *Wisdom*, ll. 183–212, where Mind when innocent sees the benefits of God and human failings, and is overwhelmed with gratitude and sorrow, and cf. the monologue of Pity, *Hickscorner*, ll. 1–32); Perseverance is the virtue of the Will, which is especially liable to change and fickleness;

and Contemplation is the virtue of the Understanding (cf. *Wisdom*, l. 246, "For by wnderstondyng I beholde wat Gode ys"). Similarly, the vices of *Hickscorner* are the special vices of the three faculties, the selection being rather more obviously appropriate than in *Wisdom*: Hickscorner, scornful of God and good things, is the rebellious Mind, a more general form of Pride than Maintenance; Free Will, opposed to Perseverance, is the unrestrained and fickle Will; and Imagination, as over against Contemplation, is the depraved and dishonest Understanding, apt, like Perjury in *Wisdom*, at devising all kinds of deceit. Thus we get a new set of correspondences:—

Mind	Faith	Meekness, Patience, Charity	Pity	Hickscorner.
God the Father				
Will	Hope	Chastity, Abstinence, Occupation	Perse-verance	Free Will.
God the Son				
Under-standing	Love	Liberality	Contem-plation	Imagination.
Holy Ghost				

What the classification of mental faculties into mind, will, and understanding means in terms of modern psychology is not clear. Evidently, in the light of the correspondences given in these two tables, it was different from our familiar division into mind, emotions, and will. The Will of the play does correspond approximately to our will; but it is hard to see why the besetting sins of the mind should be pride, wrath, and envy; and the understanding, which is prone to the sin of covetousness, would seem to resemble the desires rather than the emotions.

In using a scheme of vices and virtues which depends on the faculties of Mankind, *Hickscorner* is inconsistent with the primitive form of its plot, which we have seen does not provide for such a neutral figure. But Mankind is present only by implication, and no figure corresponding to him appears in the play. The suggestion of Klein (*Geschichte des Dramas*, xiii. 2, 35) that Hickscorner takes the part of Mankind is impossible, if we had not already shown that Hickscorner is a vice, for this would imply that Mankind is left in his sins. Naturally, since there is no neutral figure to be tempted, there are also no tempters,—evil powers or agents of evil,—and no good powers. The three virtues act to some extent as Graces, in converting Free Will and Imagination; but this we have seen is another inconsistency that marks the influence upon this late play of the more common form of the plot.

The community of ideas that I have pointed out between the nomenclature of *Wisdom* and *Hickscorner* does not imply that the author of the later play was acquainted with the earlier. It does, however, show an acquaintance with some form of the system there worked out. Another tie connecting the two plays is the prominence that both give to the Second Person of the Trinity: though not brought on the stage in *Hickscorner*, he is theme of the introductory speeches of each of its virtues. At the same time, the theological preoccupation of *Wisdom* is conspicuously absent from *Hickscorner*. If its author intended the allegorical meaning embedded in the names of his characters, he certainly does little to bring it out; and it seems not improbable that he simply took them over readymade. He treats *Wisdom*, if *Wisdom* be his primary source, with even greater freedom than that with which the author of *Four Elements* treats *Nature*. In so doing, he undoubtedly shows a better realization of the demands of the drama than does *Wisdom;* for the analyzing tendency so much indulged in in the earlier play is exactly contrary to the spirit that was abandoning abstractions altogether in favor of types, and so creating true dramatic characters.

Although *Magnificence* belongs mainly in the line of philosophical development taken by *Nature* and *Four Elements*, its particular modifications of the primitive cast are by no means always identical with theirs; and some of its characters, such as Liberty, Circumspection, Fancy, and the four court-vices, as we have noted in the first part of this study in discussing its *dramatis personae*, are more or less like characters of *Wisdom* and *Hickscorner*. No trace, however, of the three-fold division of mental faculties which we have seen to underlie these two plays appears in Skelton's morality.

7. *Mundus et Infans.*
   - I. *Neutral:* Infans, Wanton, Lust-and-Liking, Manhood, Shame, Age, or Repentance.
   - II. *Good:* Conscience and Perseverance.
   - III. *Evil.* a. *vices proper:* Folly.
     b. *powers of evil:* Mundus.

Economy marks the character scheme of this play, due to the restriction evidently imposed of using only two actors (see above, p. cxxxiii). Hence the original cast was sadly mutilated, but it was all distinctly present to the poet's mind. Of the trinity of evil powers he selects Mundus, who stands for them all. He is followed by the seven "kings," who do not appear, but, we are told (ll. 275 ff.), have sent

Mundus letters and livery. All the seven are further combined in the person of Folly, as Conscience tells us (ll. 457 ff.). Since the Life-in-Sin is not actually pictured on the stage, there was little occasion for any other representation of the vice. The side of Good is, as usual, even less developed. There are no virtues, and no member of the Trinity appears. Two Graces, Conscience and Perseverance, come to perform the same office as Penitencia and Confessio in the *Castle of Perseverance*. The special feature of the play is its insistence on the biographical method of developing the central figure. This progress from youth to age is present also in the *Castle of Perseverance* and in *Nature*, but only here is it emphasized by the successive changes of name.

But more important for the later drama is the treatment of the character Folly. He is not only, as we have seen, a vice, the combination of them all, but also a tempter or agent of evil, like the earlier devils, and a clown. This burly humorous rascal is vastly more effective than his faintly-drawn ancestor Stultitia in the *Castle of Perseverance*, and a worthy rival to his descendant Folly in *Magnificence*.

8. *Mankind.*
   I. *Neutral:* Mankind.
   II. *Good:* Mercy.
   III. *Evil.* a. *evil powers:* (none).
   b. *agents of evil:* Mischief and Titivillus.
   c. *evil types:* Nought, New-guise, and Nowadays.

Mankind in some respects carries the morality farthest in its development into the comedy, out of all the plays before us. It shows no kinship with the lines of development taken by any of the plays we have considered hitherto, but gives an independent modification of the original scheme with the single purpose of extracting from it all the humor obtainable. In treating the central figure, it neglects the unfruitful psychological divisions of *Wisdom* and biographical transformations of *Mundus et Infans* alike, and gives us in *Mankind* a specific type, the farmer. All the traditional virtues, and of course also the members of the Trinity, are discarded, and the side of Good is represented by one Grace, whom the author evidently felt at liberty to turn into a pedantic and long-winded preacher, the butt of his own as well as the vices' ridicule. On their side, the powers of evil, whom it might also have been necessary to treat with a certain degree of respect, and the abstract vices are likewise discarded. The subordinate devils were too easy a source of mirth to neglect, and two of them appear in Mischief and Titivillus.

Besides these, a band of revellers, who have no abstract purpose except perhaps to hit at the fashionable follies of the time, are added to the original scheme. They resemble somewhat the band of four courtiers in *Magnificence*, but certainly are considerably more successful in shaking off the trammels of allegory.

Next we take up the casts of the four *Coming of Death* moralities, beginning with that part of the *Castle of Perseverance* which follows this plot. Naturally several of the characters found in the earlier part of the play reappear here.

1. *Castle of Perseverance.* B. *The Coming of Death.*
   - I. *Hero:* Humanum Genus, Anima.
   - II. *This World:* Avaricia (equivalent to Wealth), and Garcio, the heir.
   - III. *Next World:* a. Mors.
     - b. Pater; Bonus Angelus.
     - c. Malus Angelus.

2. *The Death of Herod, Coventry XIX.*
   - I. *Hero:* Herod.
   - II. *This World:* the two soldiers.
   - III. *Next World:* a. Mors.
     - b. God (does not appear, but cf. "Goddys masangere," p. 184).
     - c. Diabolus.

3. *Pride of Life.*
   - I. *Hero:* the King of Life.
   - II. *This World:* a. Queen and Bishop.
     - b. the Knights Strength and Health and the Messenger Mirth.
   - III. *Next World:* a. Death.
     - b. Our Lady (? cf. l. 97).
     - c. Fiends (l. 96).

The influence of the *Conflict* plot is evident here in the division of the representatives of this world into influences for good and bad, and perhaps also for the allegorical meaning injected into the King himself, his Knights, and his Messenger. Their typical office, however, is still in large part retained; there are no pure abstractions in the play. The representatives of the next world are of course merely conjectured from the prologue.

4. *Everyman.*
   I. *Hero:* *Everyman.*
   II. *This World:* a. Good Deeds.
      b. Fellowship, Cousin, Kindred, Goods; Discretion, Beauty, Five Wits.
      c. Knowledge and Confession.
   III. *Next World:* a. Death.
      b. God the Father; angels.

Here the division among the hero's worldly companions and possessions is sharper than in the *Pride of Life*, but it is rather into true and false friends than into representatives of good and evil. The office of the agents of good (in the nature of the plot there are no agents of evil, since the hero is to be saved, not tempted) is filled by two pure abstractions, unlike the characters of any of the English *Death* plays, but identical with the Graces of the *Conflict* moralities. After death the fiends naturally do not appear, any more than the angels in the *Death of Herod.*

Last of all I have placed the two examples of the *Debate of the Heavenly Graces*, again beginning with the appropriate section of the *Castle of Perseverance.*

1. *Castle of Perseverance.* C. *The Debate of the Heavenly Graces.*
   I. *Debaters:* Misericordia and Pax; Justicia and Veritas.
   II. *Judge:* Pater sedens in trono.

2. *Salutation and Conception, Coventry XI.*
   I. *Debaters:* Misericordia and Pax; Justicia and Veritas.
   II. *Judges:* Pater and Filius; Contemplacio.

With these casts before us, it is not difficult to trace the origin of each group of the characters of *Magnificence*, whose cast we have already (pp. xxviii–xliv) analyzed. It consists, of course, of a union of the character-schemes of a *Conflict* play and a *Coming of Death* play, with many omissions and transformations in accordance with the new purpose of its author. We need only mention, by way of review, its different groups and their antecedents.

In the hero Magnificence, we have the character most nearly universal in the moral plays, found, with the exception of *Hickscorner*, in every *Conflict* play and also in every *Coming of Death* play. Here he is neither analyzed and disintegrated, as in *Wisdom*, nor carried from youth to age as in *Mundus et Infans*, but represented, in accordance rather with the *Coming of Death* conception, as a typical prince.

In Liberty and Felicity, the two characters that I have classed as semi-neutral, we have the final step in a very interesting development. The Good and Bad Angels, whose place in the original scheme they have undoubtedly taken, were the reverse of neutral, being indeed the most active agents on their respective sides. Medwall gave a philosophical explanation of these traditional personages by substituting Reason and Sensuality for them, but he still left them actively representing the sides of Good and Evil, as did the author of *Four Elements* in renaming them Studious Desire and Sensual Appetite. Skelton has drawn them closer to the hero, as befits the significance of the names he has chosen, and has left them partisan only in their sympathies.

The side of Good was perhaps never so much developed as that of evil, and certainly suffered much more from the general compression. The full number of virtues is present only in the *Castle of Perseverance* and *Nature*. In *Hickscorner*, as we have seen, the original seven are reduced through a complicated process to three. In *Four Elements* they are replaced by an entirely new figure, Experience, who represents the new didactic purpose of this play. The same thing is done in *Magnificence* when the Aristotelian Measure and Circumspection are selected as the special virtues to be exalted. In the other plays no representatives of the virtues proper are to be found at all.

The good powers are unrepresented in *Magnificence*. All three members of the Trinity may have appeared originally, but never more than one is brought upon the stage in any extant moral play. The Father is chosen in the *Castle of Perseverance*, the Son in *Mary Magdalen* and *Wisdom;* in the last-named the Father and the Holy Ghost are also present by implication. *Nature* makes the characteristic substitution of Nature for God, and *Four Elements* imitates this with Natura Naturata. The other plays omit the group.

Graces appear in five of the nine *Conflict* plays, also in *Everyman*, and of course in the two specimens of the third plot. There is a large assortment of names,—Confession the most frequent, and also Repentance, Contrition, Shamefastness, Perseverance, Good Hope, Redress, Satisfaction, and Mercy; but there is very little difference in the duties of the position. In *Mundus et Infans* and *Mankind* this group furnishes the sole representatives of the side of Good.

On the side of Evil, the vices proper persist longer than the virtues proper. The original seven are found in the *Castle of Perseverance*, *Mary Magdalen*, and *Nature;* they are expanded to twenty-one in *Wisdom* and contracted to three in *Hickscorner*. They are replaced

altogether by Folly in *Mundus et Infans*, by Ignorance in *Four Elements*, and by Fancy and Folly in *Magnificence*. In only one, *Mankind*, are the vices proper unrepresented.

The evil powers, like the good powers, are unrepresented in *Magnificence*. All three appear in the *Castle of Perseverance* and *Mary Magdalen*, the World being most prominent in the first, the Flesh in the second. The Devil alone is found in *Wisdom*, and the World alone in *Nature* and in *Mundus et Infans*. Four plays omit the group. The World has on the whole a considerable advantage over its two associates, which in a rapidly secularizing drama is no more than we should expect.

The agents of evil, omitting the Bad Angel, are represented only by the devils in *Mary Magdalen* and *Mankind*, and the devil-like figures Detraccio, Voluptas, and Stulticia in the *Castle of Perseverance*.

Evil types are introduced from outside the original scheme first in the figure of the Taverner in *Mary Magdalen*, *Nature*, and the *Four Elements*. More significant is the band of three revellers in *Mankind*, and these are closely paralleled by the four courtiers of *Magnificence*. In these last two cases, however, the typical character is modified and partly destroyed by the allegorical names adopted.

Since *Magnificence* uses also the *Coming of Death* plot, we may expect to find in it successors of the two special groups, the representatives of this world and the next, belonging to the moralities of this type. The representatives of this world in the four plays that we have just analyzed are either social types,—the soldier, the servant, the friend, the wife, the kinsman,—or personified advantages or possessions of the hero, such as Strength, Health, Mirth, Goods, Beauty, Discretion. Both are to be found in *Magnificence*. Liberty and Felicity, or Wealth, who belong to this cast as well as to that of the conflict plot, personify the worldly possessions which desert the prince when the blow falls upon him; and for the former group we have his servants, who desert him in scene 30, and mock him after his fall in scenes 36 and 37. In their callous desertion we have a parallel to the flouting of Humanum Genus on his deathbed by his heir Garcio in the *Castle of Perseverance*, and the failure of Fellowship, Cousin, and Kindred to aid the hero of *Everyman*. For the representatives of the next world we have already seen (cf. p. xliii) how Skelton makes radical substitutions, replacing Death by Adversity and Poverty, and the fiends by Despair and Mischief. God and the angels he omits, as they are omitted in the *Death of Herod* and probably in the *Pride of Life*.

c. *The Fools, or "Vices."* It remains to examine the characters of the

plays before us for the presence of that characteristic figure of the later moralities, the so-called "Vice." In the preceding discussion in various connections of this personage (see above, pp. xvi, xxx, xxxix–xli, xlv–xlvi, xlviii–xlix, xcvi, xcvii–cvi, cxvi, cxxxviii), I have identified, in *Magnificence* and plays immediately following it, five "Vices"; namely, Heywood's Mery Report and Neither Lover Nor Loved, Skelton's Fancy and Folly, and Hardydardy in *Queen Hester*, perhaps also Skelton's. Since in this identification, especially in maintaining that all of these figures are also types of the professional fool, I have disagreed in a number of points with the chief study hitherto made of the "Vice," that of Cushman, it may be well to sum up the conclusions which I have reached.

Cushman is undoubtedly correct in explaining (p. 67) the term "Vice" as originating with the actors. The simplest definition of it is, the best, i. e. the strongest *rôle*, from the actor's standpoint, on the side of Evil. Since the side of Evil was called that of "the vices," it was a natural step to denote the most important part in it as "the Vice" *par excellence*. But we wish to determine the nature of this part, and in doing this it will be helpful to distinguish a little more clearly than has been done between the derivation of the "Vice" and his actual functions.

In derivation he may descend from any one or more or all of the different groups that went to make up the side of Evil. Most commonly, perhaps, as in *Magnificence*, he is to be classed among the "vices proper"; and it is appropriate for him to be a sort of "summation of the Deadly Sins," though not at all essential. He may also be one of the "agents of evil," coming ultimately from the old Bad Angel or one of the minor devils, if that *rôle* happens to become the most effective. And since the temptation is often in later moralities put in the hands of the original vices, he often combines both characteristics, as do Fancy and Folly. He may even have a touch of the old "evil power," as we have noted is the case with Folly (p. cvi). As the old casts contracted, it was seen to be dramatically more effective to concentrate instead of dividing the interest; but none of the old groups were excluded from the selection.

The chief function, however, which the dominating character was called upon to perform was one that did not belong by rights to any one of the old groups. As the morality grew into the comedy, the duty of affording amusement was laid upon the side of Evil, and the character who could be best adapted for that was *ipso facto* given the leading *rôle*. It made little difference whether he had originally been abstract vice or devil, for neither was perfectly fitted for the new function; and very

naturally court-dramatists like Skelton and Heywood grafted upon the old stocks a typical representation of the personage to whom in actual life the task of fun-making was usually committed, the domestic or court-fool.

But there was another function which might strengthen a *rôle* and help to render it the most important. That was the conduct of the intrigue. It naturally fell more and more to one character to take the lead in weaving the plot around Mankind, to assemble his brother conspirators, to run errands, to deliver messages. This character could hardly be the most exalted on the side of Evil, and need not be the greatest villain; but he must be the one oftenest on the stage.

These two functions of the "Vice," that of the fun-maker and factotum, were of course separable, although the demands of dramatic unity tended to combine them. There was, indeed, no reason why two fools instead of one might not be introduced by a generous author to perform the first function. Hence the presence of the two "Vices" in *Magnificence* is not, considering its early date, a matter of surprise. Both of them, as we have seen, are fools; but a comparison of the two *rôles* will show that Folly is the fun-maker only, whereas Fancy is also the chief intriguer. It is the latter who leads the way in the temptation, who brings the plotters together, and who conveys to Magnificence the final message of his downfall. Among the other three vices, Hardydardy and Neither Lover Nor Loved are pure fools like Folly, whereas Mery Report, the messenger of Jupiter, is a fool more on the order of Fancy. In the later plays, the second function of the "Vice" often becomes the most prominent, but these early "Vices" were fools first of all, and sometimes intriguers afterwards.

Turning to moral plays before us with this theory of the "Vice" in mind, we find the closest parallel to *Magnificence* in its contemporary *Four Elements*. Its "Vices" are evidently Sensual Appetite and Ignorance. Both are chiefly occupied in making fun, but Sensual Appetite, like Fancy, is also the most active tempter of the hero, whereas Ignorance, like Folly, is a fool and nothing more. It is unnecessary to go over the correspondences in detail; almost every point that I have made in studying the two "Vices" of *Magnificence* might be repeated here. We may note especially the similarity between the entrances of Fancy and of Sensual Appetite, and between the nonsense verses of Folly and of Ignorance. Like Folly, too, Ignorance claims (ll. 1149–51) to be a lord

> "of gretter pusans
> Than the kynge of Yngland or Fraunce,—
> Ye, the grettyst lord lyvyng." (See above, p. cvi.)

Somewhat more primitive is the condition in *Mankind*. Sensual Appetite, whom we have seen is the "Vice" of intrigue in *Four Elements*, is derived from the old Bad Angel, one of the group of "agents of evil," originally no doubt all devils. The character of *Mankind* who has charge of the intrigue, Mischief, is also an "agent of evil," and a devil disguised under the abstract name; and for the other "Vice," corresponding to Ignorance and Folly, the rather unusual choice is made of a devil undisguised. Titivillus, who has beyond doubt the strongest humorous *rôle*, certainly has a right to be regarded in position and in function as the leading "vice" of *Mankind*, although we cannot parallel the selection of a devil for this position in the later plays, and we have no means of knowing whether the actor's term was applied to him, if indeed it was in vogue as early as this play.

In *Mundus et Infans* we have one of our best developed "Vices" in the character Folly. Folly combines the two functions of the "Vice," just as in derivation he combines the seven original vices and all the agents of evil. The relation which he bears to Mundus, the other evil character in the play, is not unlike that which Mery Report, in the *Play of the Weather*, bears to Jupiter.

In *Nature* we have a specimen of the "Vice" of intrigue in Sensuality, the ancestor of Sensual Appetite in *Four Elements*. He is not, however, nearly so dominant in this sphere as is his successor. The other "Vice" does not appear at all, for in place of Ignorance we find the seven original vices, and the humor of the play, of which there is a good deal, is pretty evenly distributed among them. *Nature* is a play in which the demand for compression has not yet been acceded to, and it is not surprising that the "Vice" figure, perhaps the most important product of the compression, is not there developed.

Hickscorner is another play with a marked infusion of the new humorous spirit,—perhaps as marked as in any morality preserved,—but without such concentration as is needed to create a "Vice." No one of its three vices is notably funnier than the other two. Naturally it has no "Vice" of intrigue, for in the absence of a hero it has no intrigue at all.

In the *Castle of Perseverance* we find a very interesting group of rudimentary "Vices" in Detraccio, Voluptas, and Stultitia. We can even differentiate the two functions of the later plays: Detraccio is the "Vice" of intrigue (cf. Brandl, intro. p. xv), Voluptas and Stultitia are "Vices" of humor. There is little of the spirit of humor in the play, but some attempt at least there is to give a lightsome touch to these worthies by

their special metre (see above, p. cxxxviii), the same as that which Puttenham (*Arte of English Poesie*, Arber Reprints, p. 97) noted a century later as a characteristic mark of "buffons or vices in playes."

In the very earliest moral play of all, the *Pride of Life*, we find a surprisingly well-developed "Vice" in Mirth, the messenger. His *rôle*, though slight, fulfils both functions of the "Vice"; he is the sole humorous character, and at the same time the active messenger or factotum.

It is difficult to discover any "Vice" figure in the undisciplined cast of *Mary Magdalen*, and there is certainly none in the two remaining *Death*-moralities, *Herod* and *Everyman*.

Whether any of these "Vices" wore the professional fool's dress as did Fancy and Folly cannot be decided from the direct testimony of the plays. It seems probable that Mirth (cf. Brandl, p. xv), Sensual Appetite, Ignorance, and perhaps Sensuality did, and so may the three "Vices" in the *Castle of Perseverance*. Mischief and Titivillus, on the other hand, must have been dressed like the devils that they were; and Folly in *Mundus et Infans*, the travelling tinker and buckler-player, is characterized rather as a country clown than as a court-fool.

V. Characterization.

If we look at the members of our thirteen morality casts from the point of view of their fitness to be used as characters in a comedy, we shall find that they all fall short, but not all to the same extent nor in the same way. The characters of a comedy, as has been often observed, need not be individuals; they are, on the contrary, usually types of larger or smaller classes of men, given for the nonce personal names, but characterized rather by their generic than by their specific qualities. For the development of such characters the morality contained better material than the miracle, and the plays before us make considerable progress toward developing them; but there is no single figure that has quite arrived.

One group in the *Conflict* plays, which I have called that of the "evil types," comes perhaps nearer the goal than any other. The Taverner of *Mary Magdalen* and *Four Elements* lacks only one thing to make him a full-fledged comedy character. This is a personal name. The name is not a matter of small importance in this connection, as appears in the members of this group found in *Magnificence*, the four courtier types. Had it not been for their allegorical names, Skelton

would doubtless have given us in these four figures real characters; but we have seen (pp. lxxxix–xcvii) how his self-imposed allegory has led him in each case into a mixture of characterization. In *Mankind*, with its similar group of three revellers, the allegory sat much more lightly on the author's conscience; Nought, New-guise, and Nowadays have nothing of the abstraction but their names. At the same time, no effort is made to distinguish them from each other, as Skelton has done with some success.

Types of this kind were usually late importations in the *Conflict* plays, whereas in the *Death* plays they were original. Here, too, only the personal name is lacking in a number of cases. If the author of the *Pride of Life* had named his King, Queen, and Bishop, as Heywood did his typical husband, wife, and priest in *Johan Johan*, he would have crossed the border-line; and the same is true of Fellowship, Cousin, and Kindred in *Everyman*.

But the *Coming of Death* did not happen to be the dominant plot. The original cast of the *Conflict of Vices and Virtues* possessed only one type, and that ill-adapted for the purposes of comedy. The hero Mankind, besides the lack of a personal name, had the further disadvantage of being too broad a generalization. A comedy might contain a type of almost any class of men, however large, but it could hardly admit Man in general, for that would leave room for no other characters in the play. The primitive hero had therefore to undergo the process of specialization before he could become a real character. Some of the moralities, we have seen, tried to develop him in other directions; but three of them succeed in reducing him to manageable dimensions,—*Mankind* to a typical farmer, *Nature* to a typical lord, *Magnificence* to a typical king. No one, however, has thought to give him a personal name, and Skelton has even needlessly given him an abstract name.

A much larger division of the primitive cast was made up of the superhuman personages,—the angels and devils, the members of the Trinity, the Devil himself, and, by the association with him, the World and the Flesh. These figures had one important qualification of the later dramatic characters,—their personality. But they were fatally handicapped in attempting to enter the real drama by being non-human. Dramatic characters, and especially the characters of comedy, had above all to be human; divine or mythological characters could never obtain from an audience the imaginative sympathy that was indispensable. Accordingly we find the members of this division rapidly disappearing from the plays, although they formed an indubitable part of the

primitive cast of every form of morality. They are simply omitted very frequently; and when present they have been generally transformed into or replaced by abstractions. God becomes Nature, Christ Wisdom, the Good and Bad Angels Reason and Sensuality, or Felicity and Liberty, the devils Detraccio, Voluptas, and Stulticia, or Mischief and Despair, and the angels almost always abstract Graces.

Sometimes, however, these figures are successfully characterized as types. Thus Lucifer in *Wisdom* is treated as a proud gallant, and becomes the most nearly human figure of the play. Studious Desire, the Good Angel of *Four Elements*, is drawn as a student of nature, and the Grace Mercy in *Mankind* as a typical pedantic moralist. Several of the "Vices" are derived from this division; and the case of Titivillus shows that the chief fun-maker of the play may still remain pure devil. Mischief, however, in the same play, is a typical reveler along with Nought, New-guise, and Nowadays; and Sensual Appetite is a typical "fool."

Another division, which includes most of the remaining morality figures, comprises those abstractions which come from the original vices and virtues. These are much more susceptible to character development than are the class just treated. Denoting human qualities, they have the humanity that the superhuman figures lack, and need only borrow from them their personality to become very adequate characters. The step from such an abstraction to a type, from Pride to proud man, is easy, as we have seen in Skelton's case, and it is often taken in the moralities before us.

A comparison of the characterization of the "vices proper" in the three plays *Castle of Perseverance*, *Mary Magdalen*, and *Nature* illustrates well the progress that was possible here. The vices in the *Castle of Perseverance* are purely allegorical. In this, as in so many other features, we find the closest approach to what we may suppose primitive conditions. In *Mary Magdalen* two of the seven are given a typical characterization. Lust appears as "Lady Lechery," and Pride, in the Tavern scene, as "Curiosity, a dandy"; and the temptation of Mary, crudely as it is pictured, is thus given a life that is entirely absent from the symbolical siege of the *Castle of Perseverance*. *Nature* shows us the same process applied to all the seven. Pride appears as a fine gentleman extravagantly dressed; Covetousness, who calls himself Worldly Affection, is a crafty supervisor; Bodily Lust is himself a lecher; Sloth comes straight from his bed; Gluttony is always eating, and when the summons to war comes, appears with a cheese and a bottle as his harness; Wrath wears a real suit of armor and is looking for a chance to use it; and Envy is most

complaining and quarrelsome. Just as in Skelton's case, many allegorical strokes remain, as when Pride declares (l. 835) that he is "a gentleman that alway hath be brought vp wyth great estatys and affeed wyth them"; but the progress is evident. In the twenty-one vices of *Wisdom* we have a much slighter modification of the same kind, when seven appear dressed as retainers, seven as jurors, and seven as women.

In the two "Vices" of *Mundus et Infans* and *Four Elements*, Folly and Ignorance, who each represent a combination of the old "vices proper," we have two well-drawn types of the buffoon and the "fool." Experience, also, in the latter play, the sum of the virtues, is characterized like Studious Desire as a typical philosopher.

In *Hickscorner* we have perhaps the most complete disappearance of the allegorical element, on both sides of the conflict. The significance of the names, as we have seen, is almost entirely disregarded in the play; and instead we have a careful and sympathetic study of three sturdy London rascals, and a less interested study of three pious believers. All six are alive. They need only the personal name to be complete characters. Even this is nearly attained in the name Hickscorner.

If we arrange the *Conflict* plays, then, in accordance with their success in character development, we must put *Hickscorner*, which has good types for all its figures, first on the list; next *Mankind*, all of whose characters are typical except Titivillus, the devil; next *Four Elements*, with its two "fools" and its two wise men; and next *Nature*, with its specialized hero and its seven vicious types. *Magnificence* will come below all of these; Skelton, as we have seen, kept a great deal of the allegory, partly because it fitted his satirical purpose, but partly also, we may suspect, because he liked it. Below *Magnificence* will come *Mundus et Infans* with its one well-drawn type, *Wisdom* with a partial one in Lucifer, and *Mary Magdalen* with its two typically treated vices. The *Castle of Perseverance* stands at the bottom.

The influence of the *Ship of Fools*, it is evident from this survey, could have played but a small part in the change that went on during this period in the English methods of dramatic characterization. Undoubtedly it exercised a great influence on *Magnificence*, and there are signs of its influence on *Hickscorner;* but the transformation of abstractions into types had begun before it was written, and was carried on in plays that are quite independent of it. The reign of allegory was passing on the English stage, and the foreign impulse could only accelerate its decline.

EDITOR'S NOTE.

The text is, except as noted, that of the copy of the original edition in the University Library at Cambridge (C). With this have been collated the British Museum copy (B. M.), in its first 45 lines a transcript from C, elsewhere varying only in a very few cases; the Bodleian fragment, which reveals no variant from the corresponding parts of C and B. M.; and the Roxburghe Club reprint (Rox.), which is full of errors. These are cited at the foot of the page wherever they vary from C; but Roxburghe variants in capitalization are not noted. The text of Dyce's edition (Dyce) is accurate; he has allowed himself some liberties in normalising the Latin. His variants from C (except the regular v for u in the Latin) and his valuable emendations (found in the notes at the foot of the page and II. 236–277, in the *Corrigenda and Addenda*, II. 451, 452, and in the *Addenda*, II. 487) are given. A few additional emendations are to be gleaned from the review of Dyce's edition in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, Sept. 1844, pp. 244, 245 (*Gent. Mag.*). The American reprint of Dyce (Am.) and the selection made by Pollard are cited only for variants from Dyce given in text or notes. Punctuation, capitals, division into stages and scenes, and indications of metrical structure are mine. The line numbering differs from that of Dyce in that a line divided between two speakers is counted as one instead of two.

ERRATA.

p. xxxix, 12th line from top : *for* 2403 *read* 2404
p. li, 4th line : for *Metrik*), read *Metrik*,
p. liv, 15th line from bottom : *for* thesis *read* theses
p. lxviii, 7th line from bottom : *for* stichomathy *read* stichomythy
p. xcvii, 16th line from bottom : *for* satisfying *read* satirizing
p. ci, headline : *for* "Kingbear" *read* "King Lear"
p. cxxxiv, last line : *for* trimeter obtained *read* trimeter has almost
p. clx, 18th line from top : *for* 739 *read* 439
p. clx, 3rd line from bottom : *for* put *read* puts
p. clxxiv, headline : read *Elements of Cast. Hero*
p. clxxvi, 19th line from bottom : for *dause* read *danse*
p. 17, after l. 514 : *delete stars*
p. 37, footnote no. 3 : for *rhyme* read *rime*

Magnyfycence,

A goodly interlude and a mery deuysed and made by mayster Skelton, poet laureate late deceasyd.[1]

These be the names of the players[2]:

Felycyte.
Lyberte.
Measure.

Magnyfycence.

Fansy.
Counterfet counte.
Crafty conueyaunce.

Clokyd colusyon.
Courtly abusyon.
Foly.
Aduersyte.
Pouerte.
Dyspare.
Myschefe.

Cum priuilegio.

Good hope.
Redresse.
Cyrcumspeccyon.
Perseueraunce.

[STAGE I. PROSPERITY.]

(*Rime royal.*)

[Scene I. *Enter* Felycyte.]

Monologue of Felicity.

Felycyte. Al thyng ys[3] contryuyd by mannys Reason,—
The world, enuyronnyd of Hygh and Low Estate.
Be it erly or late, Welth hath a season.
Welth is of Wysdome the very trewe probate;
A fole is he with Welth that fallyth at debate.
But men nowe a dayes so vnhappely be vryd,[4]
That nothynge than Welth may worse be enduryd.

The allegory in a nutshell.

The management of wealth (i. e. Felicity) is the true test of wisdom.

To tell you the cause me semeth it no nede.
The amense therof is far to call agayne;

Nowadays men do not learn by experience.

[1] *On* Fo. i. *a, within an ornamental border.* B M (*here a transcript of* C), Magnificence.

[2] *On* Fo. xxx. *a, at foot of page and immediately after the last words of the text; the names are given in the order of coming on, but divided by spacing, as above, into four groups.*

[3] C, Dyce, thyngys; *for* al thyng ys *cf. lines* 118, 122, 451.

[4] Rox., bryd (*sic*).

For, when men by Welth, they haue lytyll drede
Of that may come after; experyence trewe and playne,
Howe after a drought there fallyth a showre of rayne,
And after a hete oft cometh a stormy colde,—
A man may haue Welth, but not as he wolde,

Especially with noble men has caprice (i. e. Liberty) run away with sober judgment (i. e. Circumspection).

Ay to contynewe[1] and styll to endure.
But yf Prudence be proued with Sad Cyrcumspeccyon,
Welthe myght be wonne and made to the lure,—
Yf[2] Noblenesse were aquayntyd with Sober Dyreccyon.
But Wyll hath Reason so vnder subieccyon,
And so dysordereth this worlde ouer all,
That Welthe and Felicite is passynge small.

But where wonnys Welthe, and a man wolde wyt?
For Welthfull Felicite truly is my name.

[Stage I. Scene 2. *Enter* Lyberte.]

Liberty enters, and greets Felicity courteously,

Lyberte. Mary, Welthe and I was apoynted to mete,
And eyther I am dysseyued, or ye be the same.
Felycyte. Syr, as ye say. I haue harde of your fame;
Your name is Lyberte, as I vnderstande.
Lyberte. Trewe you say, Syr; gyue me your hande.

(*Couplets.*)

Fel. And from whens come ye, and it myght be askyd?

but soon begins to quarrel.

Lyb. To tell you, Syr, I dare not, leest I sholde be maskyd
In a payre of fetters or a payre of stockys.
Fel. Here you not howe this gentylman mockys?
Lyb. Ye, to knackynge ernyst what and it preue?
Fel. Why, to say what he wyll Lyberte hath leue.
Lyb. Yet Lyberte hath ben lockyd vp and kept in the mew.

The two commence a formal debate: Can they coexist?

Fel. In dede, Syr, that Lyberte was not worthe a cue.
Howe be it, Lyberte may somtyme be to large,
But yf Reason be regent and ruler of your barge.
Lyb. To that ye say I can well condyssende;
Shewe forth, I pray you, here in what you intende.

(*Rime royal.*)

Fel. Of that I intende, to make demonstracyon,

Felicity's position:

It askyth lesure with good aduertence.[3]

[1] B M (*here a transcript of* C), continewe. [2] Rox., Dyce, If
[3] C, Dyce, aduertysment; *notice rime and cf. ll.* 1334, 1635.

Fyrst, I say, we owght to haue in consyderacyon,
That Lyberte be lynkyd with the chayne of Continence,[1] 44 Liberty must submit to Continence (i. e. restraint).
Lyberte to let from all maner offence;
For Lyberte at large is lothe to be stoppyd,
But with Continence[1] your Corage must be croppyd. 47

Lyb. Then thus to you—
Fel. Nay, suffer me yet ferther to say,
And peraduenture I shall content your mynde.
Lyberte, I wote well, forbere no man there may;
It is so swete in all maner of kynde. 51 Else he will grow reckless.
Howe be it, Lyberte makyth many a man blynde;
By Lyberte is done many a great excesse;
Lyberte at large wyll oft wax reklesse. 54

Perceyue ye this parcell? 55 (*Half-line couplets.*)
Lyb. Ye, Syr, passyng well;
But and you wolde me permyt
To shewe parte of my wyt,
Somwhat I coulde enferre Liberty protests that he has something to say in reply.
Your Consayte to debarre, 60
Vnder supportacyon
Of pacyent tolleracyon.
Fel. God forbyd ye sholde be let
Your reasons forth to fet; 64
Wherfore at Lyberte
Say what ye wyll to me. 66

Lyb. Brefly to touche of my purpose the effecte: (*Rime royal*
Lyberte is laudable and pryuylegyd from Lawe; Liberty's position: Liberty should be privileged from all control;
Judycyall Rygoure shall not me correcte—
Fel. Softe, my frende; herein your Reason is but rawe. 70
Lyb. Yet suffer me to say the surpluse of my sawe;
What wote ye where vpon I wyll conclude?
I say there is no Welthe where as Lyberte is subdude. 73

I trowe ye can not say nay moche to this:
To lyue vnder Lawe, it is captyuyte; for where there is no freedom, there can be no felicity.
Where Drede ledyth the daunce, there is no Ioy nor Blysse.

[1] C, Dyce, countenaunce; B M (*here a transcript of* C), couñtenaunce; *cf. rime and* N. E. D. *sub* "*continence.*"

Or howe can ye proue that there is Felycyte,
And you haue not your owne fre Lyberte,
To sporte at your pleasure, to ryn, and to ryde?
Where Lyberte is absent, set Welthe asyde!

[Stage I. Scene 3.] *Hic intrat* Measure.

(*Couplets.*)

Measure. Cryst you assyste in your altrycacyon!

Measure interrupts the debate.

Fel. Why, haue you harde of our dysputacyon?
Meas. I parceyue well howe eche of you doth reason.
Lyb. Mayster Measure, you be come in good season.
Meas. And it is wonder[1] that your wylde Insolence
Can be content with Measure presence.

(*Half-line leash, or "Skeltonical."*)

Fel. Wolde it please you then—
Lyb. Vs to informe and ken—
Meas. A, ye be wonders men!
Your langage is lyke the penne
Of hym that wryteth to fast.
Fel. Syr, yf any worde haue[2] past
Me, other fyrst or last,

He is chosen by both as arbiter of the question,

To you I arecte it, and cast
Therof the reformacyon.
Lyb. And I of the same facyon;
Howe be it, by protestacyon
Dyspleasure that you none take;
Some Reason we must make.
Meas. That wyll not I forsake,
So it in Measure be.
Come of therfore, let se;
Shall I begynne or ye?

and is asked to set forth his views.

Fel. Nay, ye shall begynne, by my wyll.
Lyb. It is Reason and Skyll
We your pleasure fulfyll.
Meas. Then ye must bothe consent
You to holde content
With myne argument;

[1] Rox., it is no wonder (*sic*). [2] Rox., haue.

And I muste you requyre
Me pacyently to here.
FEL. Yes, Syr, with ryght good chere.
LYB. With all my herte intere.

MEAS. Oracius to recorde in his volumys olde, (*Rime royal.*)
With euery condycyon Measure must be sought.[1] Measure's position:
Welthe without Measure wolde bere hymselfe to bolde;
Lyberte without Measure proue a thynge of nought. all things prove that Measure should have dominion,
I ponder by nomber; by Measure all thynge is wrought,
As at the fyrst orygynall, by godly opynyon;
Whych prouyth well that Measure shold haue domynyon.

Where Measure is mayster, Plenty dothe none offence; especially over Wealth.
Where Measure lackyth, all thynge dysorderyd is:
Where Measure is absent, Ryot kepeth resydence;
Where Measure is ruler, there is nothynge amysse.
Measure is treasure; howe say ye, is it not this?
FEL. Yes, questyonlesse, in myne opynyon;
Measure is worthy to haue domynyon.

LYB. Vnto that same I am ryght well agrede, Liberty demurs,
So that Lyberte be not lefte behynde.
MEAS. Ye, Lyberte with Measure nede neuer drede.
LYB. What, Lyberte to Measure then wolde ye bynde?
MEAS. What ellys? for otherwyse it were agaynst kynde; but is silenced by many reasons.
If Lyberte sholde lepe and renne where he lyst,
It were no vertue, it were a thynge vnblyst.[2]

It were a Myschefe, yf Lyberte lacked a reyne
Where with to rule hym with the wrythyng of a rest.
All trebyllys and tenours be rulyd by a meyne.
Lyberte without Measure is acountyd for a beste;
There is no surfet where Measure rulyth the feste;
There is no excesse where Measure hath his helthe;
Measure contynwyth Prosperyte and Welthe.

FEL. Vnto your rule I wyll annex my mynde. The two disputants submit,
LYB. So wolde I, but I wolde be lothe, although Liberty is still reluctant.
That wonte was to be formyst, now to come behynde.

[1] C, songht (*misprint*); Rox., Dyce, sought.
[2] Rox., unblyst.

It were a shame, to God I make an othe,
Without I myght cut it out of the brode clothe,
As I was wonte euer, at my Fre Wyll.
MEAS. But haue ye not herde say that Wyll is no Skyll?

Take Sad Dyreccyon, and leue this Wantonnesse.
LYB. It is[1] no maystery.
FEL. Tushe, let Measure procede,
And after his mynde herdely your selfe adresse;
For, without Measure, Pouerte and Nede
Wyll crepe vpon vs, and vs to Myschefe lede;
For Myschefe wyll mayster vs yf Measure vs forsake.
LYB. Well, I am content your wayes to take.

All three are indispensable companions for any prince.

MEAS. Surely I am ioyous that ye be myndyd thus;
Magnyfycence to mayntayne, your promosyon shalbe.
FEL. So in his harte he may be glad of vs.
LYB. There is no prynce but he hath nede of vs thre,—
Welthe, with Measure, and plesaunt Lyberte.
MEAS. Nowe pleasyth you a lytell whyle to stande;
Me semeth Magnyfycence is comynge here at hande.

[STAGE I. SCENE 4.] *Hic intrat* MAGNYFYCENCE.

Magnificence enters,

MAGNYFYCENCE. To assure you of my noble port and fame,
Who lyst to knowe, Magnyfycence I hyght.
But Measure, my frende, what hyght this mannys name?

and is presented by Measure with his two companions.

MEAS. Syr, though ye be a noble prynce of myght,
Yet in this man you must set your delyght.
And, Syr, this other mannys name is Lyberte.
MAGN. Welcome, frendys, ye are bothe vnto[2] me.

But nowe let me knowe of your conuersacyon.
FEL. Pleasyth your grace, Felycyte they me call.
LYB. And I am Lyberte, made of in euery nacyon.

He commits both to Measure's control.

MAGN. Conuenyent persons for any prynce ryall.
Welthe with Lyberte, with me bothe dwell ye shall,
To the gydynge of my Measure you bothe commyttynge;
That Measure be mayster, vs[3] semeth it is syttynge.[4]

[1] C, it; Dyce, is. [2] Rox., unto. [3] Rox., us.
[4] Rox., fyttynge.

MEAS. Where as ye haue, Syr, to me them assygned,
Suche order I trust with them for to take,
So that Welthe with Measure shalbe conbyned,
And Lyberte his large with Measure shall make.
FEL. Your ordenaunce, Syr, I wyll not forsake.
LYB. And I my selfe hooly to you wyll inclyne.
MAGN. Then may I say that ye be seruauntys myne.

For by Measure I warne you we thynke to be gydyd;
Wherin it is necessary my pleasure you knowe:
Measure and I wyll neuer be deuydyd,[1]
For no dyscorde that any man can sawe;
For Measure is a meane, nother to hy nor to lawe,
In whose attemperaunce I haue suche delyght,
That Measure shall neuer departe from my syght.

He is determined never to be divided from Measure.

FEL. Laudable your Consayte is to be acountyd,
For Welthe without Measure sodenly wyll slyde.
LYB. As your grace full nobly hath recountyd,
Measure with Noblenesse sholde be alyde.
MAGN. Then, Lyberte, se that Measure be your gyde,
For I wyll vse you by his aduertysment.
FEL. Then shall you haue with you Prosperyte resydent.

Felicity and Liberty assent to this.

MEAS. I trowe Good Fortune hath annexyd vs together,
To se howe greable we are of one mynde;
There is no flaterer nor losyll so lyther,
This lynkyd chayne of loue that can vnbynde.
Nowe that ye haue me chefe ruler assyngned,
I wyll endeuour me to order euery thynge
Your Noblenesse and Honour consernynge.

Measure regards his prosperity as now assured.

LYB. In Ioy and Myrthe your mynde shalbe inlargyd,
And not embracyd with Pusyllanymyte;
But plenarly all Thought from you must be dyschargyd,
If ye lyst to lyue after your fre Lyberte.
All delectacyons aquayntyd is with me;
By me all persons worke what they lyste.
MEAS. Hem, Syr, yet beware of "Had I wyste!"

Liberty pleads for a more joyous life,

but is sternly

[1] Rox., never be dyuyded.

repressed by Measure,

Lyberte in some cause becomyth a gentyll mynde,—
Bycause course of Measure—yf I be in the way:
Who countyth[1] without me is caste to fer behynde
Of his rekenynge, as euydently we may
Se[2] at our eye the worlde day by day.
For defaute of Measure all thynge dothe excede.

who is supported

FEL. All that ye say is as trewe as the crede.

by Felicity.

For howe be it Lyberte to Welthe is conuenyent,
And from Felycyte may not be forborne,
Yet Measure hath ben so longe from vs absent,
That all men laugh at Lyberte to scorne.
Welth and Wyt, I say, be so threde bare worne,
That all is without Measure and fer beyonde the mone.

MAGN. Then Noblenesse, I se well, is almoste vndone;

Magnificence sends away the disgusted Liberty in Measure's keeping,

But yf therof the soner amendys be made;
For dowtlesse I parceyue my Magnyfycence
Without Measure lyghtly may fade,
Of to moche Lyberte vnder the offence;
Wherfore, Measure, take Lyberte with you hence,
And rule hym after the rule of your scole.

LYB. What, Syr, wolde ye make me a poppynge fole?

with a rebuke.

MEAS. Why, were not your selfe agreed to the same,
And now wolde ye swarue from your owne ordynaunce?
LYB. I wolde be rulyd and I myght for shame.
FEL. A, ye make me laughe at your Inconstaunce.
MAGN. Syr, without any longer delyaunce,
Take Lyberte to rule, and folowe myne entent.
MEAS. It shalbe done at your commaundement.

[STAGE I. SCENE 5.] *Itaque* MEASURE *exeat locum cum* LIBERTATE, *et maneat* MAGNYFYCENCE *cum* FELICITATE.

When he has gone, Magnificence condemns him.

MAGN. It is a wanton thynge, this Lyberte;
Perceyue you not howe lothe he was to abyde
The rule of Measure, notwithstandynge we
Haue deputyd Measure hym to gyde?
By Measure eche thynge duly is tryde:

[1] C, countyd; Dyce, countyth. [2] C, So; Dyce, Se.

Thynke you not thus, my frende Felycyte?
FEL. God forbede that it other wyse sholde be!

MAGN. Ye coulde not ellys, I wote, with me endure.
FEL. Endure? No, God wote, it were great payne.
But yf I were orderyd by iust Measure,
It were not possyble me longe to retayne.

Felicity commends the Prince's decision.

[STAGE I. SCENE 6.] *Hic intrat* FANSY.

FANSY. Tusche, holde your pece, your langage is vayne.[1]
Please it your grace to take no dysdayne,
To shewe you playnly the trouth as I thynke.
MAGN. Here is none forsyth whether you flete or synke.

Fancy enters and rudely interrupts,

FEL. From whens come you, Syr, that no man lokyd after?
MAGN. Or who made you so bolde to interrupe my tale?
FAN. Nowe, *benedicite*, ye wene I were some hafter,
Or ellys some iangelynge Jacke of the Vale;
Ye wene that I am dronken, bycause I loke pale.
MAGN. Me semeth that ye haue dronken more than ye haue bled.
FAN. Yet amonge noble men I was brought vp and bred.

FEL. Nowe leue this iangelynge and to vs[2] expounde
Why that ye sayd our langage was in vayne.
FAN. Mary, vpon[3] trouth my Reason I grounde,
That without Largesse Noblenesse can not rayne;
And that I sayd ones yet I say agayne—
I say, without Largesse Worshyp hath no place,
For Largesse is a purchaser of pardon and of grace.

contradicting what Felicity has said.

MAGN. Nowe, I beseche the, tell me what is thy name?
FAN. Largesse, that all lordes sholde loue, Syr, I hyght.
FEL. But hyght you Largesse, encreace of noble fame?
FAN. Ye, Syr, vndoubted.
FEL. Then of very ryght,
With Magnyfycence, this noble prynce of myght,
Sholde be your dwellynge, in my consyderacyon.
MAGN. Yet we wyll therin take good delyberacyon.

He introduces himself as Largess,

[1] *An extra line inserted in stanza here at beginning of a new scene; see note to line* 2299.
[2] Rox., us. [3] Rox., upon.

FAN. As in that, I wyll not be agaynst your pleasure.
FEL. Syr, hardely remembre what may your name auaunce.
MAGN. Largesse is laudable, so it be in Measure.[1]
employed by the late King Lewis,
FAN. Largesse is he that all prynces doth auaunce;
I reporte me herein to Kynge Lewes of Fraunce.
FEL. Why haue ye hym named, and all other refused?
FAN. For, syth he dyed, Largesse was lytell vsed.
and tries to enliven the Prince;
Plucke vp your mynde, Syr; what ayle you to muse?
Haue ye not Welthe here at your Wyll?
It is but a maddynge, these wayes that ye vse;
What auayleth Lordshyp, yourselfe for to kyll
With care and with thought howe Jacke shall haue Gyl?
MAGN. What! I haue aspyed ye are a carles page.
FAN. By God, Syr, ye se but fewe wyse men of myne age.
but succeeds only in offending him,
But Couetyse hath blowen you so full of wynde,
That *colyca passyo*[2] hath gropyd you by the guttys.
FEL. In fayth, Broder Largesse, you haue a mery mynde.
FAN. In fayth, I set not by the worlde two Dauncaster cuttys.
MAGN. Ye wante but a wylde flyeng bolte to shote at the buttes.
Though Largesse ye hyght, your langage is to large;
For whiche ende goth forwarde ye take lytell charge.

FEL. Let se this checke yf ye voyde canne.
FAN. In faythe, els had I gone to longe to scole,
But yf I coulde knowe a gose from a swanne.
MAGN. Wel, wyse men may ete the fysshe, when ye shal draw the pole.
FAN. In fayth, I wyll not say that ye shall proue a fole,
But ofte tymes haue I sene wyse men do mad dedys.
and draws upon
MAGN. Go shake the, dogge, hay,[3] syth ye wyll nedys!

[1] C, Dyce, in measure be; Dyce (*note*, II. 451) *conjectures* be in measure.
[2] Dyce, *colica passio.*
[3] Dyce, Go shake the dogge, hay; (*query in note*) the (i. e., *thee*), dogge? *but* (*note*, II. 226) *compares* Go shake thy dogge, hay, *found twice elsewhere* (I. 193, and II. 72). *Context of both passages, however, indicates that true reading must have been as here*, the, '*thee*'.

You are nothynge mete with vs for to dwell, — himself an angry rebuke.
That with your lorde and mayster so pertly can prate!
Gete you hens, I say, by my counsell;
I wyll not vse you to play with me checke mate.
FAN. Syr, yf I haue offended your noble estate, — He escapes dismissal only by producing a letter
I trow I haue brought you suche wrytynge of recorde,
That I shall haue you agayne my good lorde.

To you recommendeth Sad Cyrcumspeccyon, — purporting to be from Circumspection.
And sendeth you this wrytynge closed vnder[1] sele.
MAGN. This wrytynge is welcome with harty affeccyon! — The Prince is mollified,
Why kepte you it thus longe? Howe dothe he? wele?
FAN. Syr, thanked be God, he hath his hele.
MAGN. Welthe, gete you home and commaunde me to Mesure; — and sends Felicity ahead to the palace,
Byd hym take good hede to you, my synguler tresure.

FEL. Is there ony thynge elles your grace wyll commaunde me?
MAGN. Nothynge but fare you well tyll sone,—
And that he take good kepe to Lyberte.
FEL. Your pleasure, Syr, shortely shall be done.
MAGN. I shall come to you myselfe, I trowe, this after none.
I pray you, Larges, here to remayne, — remaining to read the letter.
Whylest I knowe what this letter dothe contayne.
[*Exit* FELYCYTE.]

[STAGE I. SCENE 7.] *Hic faciat tanquam legeret litteras tacite. Interim superueniat cantando* COUNTERFET COUNTENAUNCE *suspenso gradu, qui uiso* MAGNYFYCENCE *sensim*[2] *retrocedat; at*[3] *tempus post pusillum rursum accedat* COUNTERFET COUNTENAUNCE *prospectando et uocitando a longe; et* FANSY *animat*[4] *silentium cum manu.* — A piece of dumb-show between Fancy and another conspirator at the door.

COUNTERFET COUNTENAUNCE. What, Fansy! Fansy! — (*Couplets.*)
MAGN. Who is that[5] that thus dyd cry?
Me thought he called Fansy.[6]
FAN. It was a Flemynge hyght Hansy.

[1] Rox., under. [2] C, sensum; Dyce, sensim. [3] C, ad; Dyce, at.
[4] Dyce *suggests* animet. [5] Rox., *om.* [6] C, fanfy; Dyce, Fansy.

MAGN. Me thought he called Fansy me behynde.
FAN. Nay, Syr, it was nothynge but your mynde.
Fancy tells Magnificence how he brought the letter from Pontoise in France,
But nowe, Syr, as touchynge this letter—
MAGN. I shall loke in it at leasure better;
And surely ye are to hym beholde,
And for his sake ryght gladly I wolde
Do what I coude to do you good.
FAN. I pray God kepe you in that mood!
MAGN. This letter was wryten ferre hence.
FAN. By lakyn, Syr, it hathe cost me pence
And grotes many one or I came to your presence.
MAGN. Where was it delyuered you? shewe vnto me.
FAN. By God, Syr, beyonde the se.
MAGN. At what place, nowe, as you gesse?
FAN. By my trouthe, Syr, at Pountesse.
This wrytynge was taken me there,
But neuer was I in gretter fere.
MAGN. Howe so?
with great peril at the sea-side,
FAN. By God, at the see syde,
Had I not opened my purse wyde,
I trowe, by our lady, I had ben slayne,
Or elles I had lost myne eres twayne.
MAGN.[1] By your soth?
FAN.[2] Ye, and there is suche a wache,
That no man can scape but they hym cache.
They bare me in hande[3] that I was a spye;
And another bade[4] put out myne eye;
Another wolde myne eye were blerde;
Another bade shaue halfe my berde;
And boyes to the pylery gan me plucke,
And wolde haue made me Freer Tucke,
To preche out of the pylery hole
Without an antetyme or a stole;
And some bade sere hym with a marke:
To gete me fro them I had moche warke.
MAGN. Mary, Syr, ye were afrayde.
which he escaped only by the use of Largess.
FAN. By my trouthe, had I not payde and prayde,
And made Largesse, as I hyght,

[1] C, Fansy; Dyce, Magn. [2] C *omits* Fansy; *supplied by* Dyce.
[3] Rox., hand. [4] Rox., baue (*sic*).

I had not ben here with you this nyght.
But surely Largesse saued my lyfe;
For Largesse stynteth all maner of stryfe.
MAGN. It dothe so sure nowe and than;
But Largesse is not mete for euery man.
FAN. No, but for you grete estates
Largesse stynteth grete debates;
And he that I came fro to this place
Sayd I was mete for your grace;
And in dede, Syr, I here men talke,— How men talk about Magnificence's illiberality.
By the way as I ryde and walke,—
Say howe you excede in Noblenesse,
If you had with you Largesse.
MAGN. And say they so in very dede?
FAN. With ye, Syr, so God me spede.
MAGN. Yet Mesure is a mery mene.
FAN. Ye, Syr, a blaunched[1] almonde is no bene.
Measure is mete for a marchauntes hall, Measure may do for merchants but not for princes.
But Largesse becometh a state ryall.
What! sholde you pynche at a pecke of grotes,[2]
Ye wolde sone pynche at a pecke of otes.[3]
Thus is the talkynge of one and of oder,
As men dare speke it hugger mugger:
"A lorde a negarde, it is a shame";
But Largesse may amende your name.
MAGN. In faythe, Largesse, welcome to me.
FAN. I pray you, Syr, I may so be; Magnificence takes him into service and carries him off to the palace.
And of my seruyce you shall not mysse.
MAGN. Togyder we wyll talke more of this;
Let vs[4] departe from hens home to my place.
FAN. I folow euen after your noble grace.

Hic discedat MAGNIFICENS[5] *cum* FANSY, *et intrat* COUNTERFET COUNTENAUNCE. [FANSY *is detained for a moment.*]

COUNTERFET COUNTENAUNCE. What! I say, herke a worde. Blundering re-entrance of Counterfeit Countenance. Fancy waits a moment to chide him.
FAN. Do away, I say, the deuylles torde!

[1] C, blannched (*misprint*); Rox., blaunched; Dyce, blannched.
[2] C, Rox., Dyce, otes.
[3] C, Rox., Dyce, grotes. *Cf. lines* 1083, 1084.
[4] Rox., us. [5] Rox., magnyfycence.

Cou. Cou. Ye, but how longe shall I here awayte?
Fan. By Goddys body, I come streyte;
I hate this blunderyng that thou doste make.
Cou. Cou. Nowe to the deuyll I the betake,
For in fayth ye be well met.

[STAGE II. CONSPIRACY.]

[Scene 8. Counterfet Countenance *solus.*]

(*Couplets.*)
Fansy hath cachyd in a flye net
This noble man Magnyfycence,
Of Largesse vnder the pretence.
They haue made me here to put the stone;
But nowe wyll I, that they be gone,
In bastarde ryme, after the dogrell gyse,
Tell you where of my name dothe ryse.

(*Leash, seven-line.*)
Monologue of Counterfeit Countenance.
He is fashionable nowadays,
For Counterfet Countenaunce knowen am I;
This worlde is full of my Foly.
I set not by hym a fly
That can not counterfet a lye,
Swere, and stare, and byde therby,
And countenaunce it clenly,
And defende it manerly.

and much relied on all sorts of social climbers,
A knaue wyll counterfet nowe a knyght,
A lurdayne lyke a lorde to syght,[1]
A mynstrell lyke a man of myght,
A tappyster lyke a lady bryght:
Thus make I them wyth thryft to fyght;
Thus at the laste I brynge hym ryght
To Tyburne, where they hange on hyght.

by thieves,
To counterfet I can by praty wayes:
Of nyghtys to occupy counterfet kayes;
Clenly to counterfet newe arayes;
and play-wrights,
Counterfet eyrnest by way of playes.
Thus am I occupyed at all assayes.
What so euer I do, all men me prayse,
And mekyll am I made of nowe adays.

[1] C, Rox., Dyce., fyght; Dyce (*query in note*) flyght (*scold*) *or* syght?

Counterfet maters in the lawe of the lande,— by lawyers,
Wyth golde and grotes they grese my hande,
In stede of ryght that wronge may stande;
And counterfet fredome that is bounde;[1] 434
I counterfet suger that is but sande;[2] grocers,
Counterfet capytaynes by me are mande; and recruiting officers.
Of all lewdnesse I kyndell the brande. 437

Counterfet kyndnesse, and thynke dyscayte; Men counterfeit friendship, letters,
Counterfet letters by the way of sleyght;
Subtelly vsynge counterfet weyght; weights, language,
Counterfet langage, *fayty bone geyte.* 441
Counterfetynge is a proper bayte.
A counte to counterfet in a resayte,— and accounts;
To counterfet well is a good consayte. 444

Counterfet maydenhode may well be borne, also maidenhood and merchandise.
But counterfet coynes is laughynge to scorne;
It is euyll patchynge of that is torne.
When the noppe is rughe, it wolde be shorne. 448
Counterfet haltynge without a thorne;
Yet counterfet chafer is but euyll corne.
All thynge is worse whan it is worne. 451

What! wolde ye wyues counterfet The women counterfeit every new fashion,
The courtly gyse of the newe iet?
An olde barne wolde be vnderset;
It is moche worthe that is ferre fet. 455
What! wanton, wanton, nowe well ymet!
What! Margery Mylke Ducke, mermoset!
It wolde be masked in my net! 458

It wolde be nyce, thoughe I say nay;
By crede, it wolde haue fresshe aray,— regardless of the expense for their husbands.
"And therfore shall my husbande pay";
To counterfet she wyll assay 462
All the newe gyse, fresshe and gaye,
And be as praty as she may,
And iet it ioly as a iay. 465

[1] *With the rime cf.* founde: Englonde, *l.* 882, 3
[2] C, Rox., Dyce, founde; Dyce *remarks*: "*This line seems to be corrupt*"; *cf. confusion of* f *and* s *in ll.* 327, 418, 874, 2329.

Many virtues are counterfeited,

Counterfet prechynge, and byleue the contrary;
Counterfet conscyence, peuysshe pope holy;
Counterfet Sadnesse, with delynge full madly;
Counterfet Holynes is called Ypocrysy;
Counterfet Reason is not worth a flye;
Counterfet Wysdome, and workes of Foly;
Counterfet Countenaunce euery man dothe occupy.

and there is much counterfeit prosperity and respectability.

Counterfet Worshyp outwarde men may se;
Ryches rydeth out, at home is Pouerte:
Counterfet Pleasure is borne out by me;
Coll wolde go clenly, and it wyll not be,
And Annot wolde be nyce, and laughes, 'tehe, wehe.'
Your Counterfet Countenaunce is all of Nysyte,
A plummed partrydge all redy to flye.

There is a certain carter who poses as a courtier.

A knokylbonyarde wyll counterfet a clarke;
He wolde trotte gentylly, but he is to starke;
At his Cloked Counterfetynge dogges dothe barke.
A carter a courtyer, it is a worthy warke,
That with his whyp his mares was wonte to yarke;
A custrell to dryue the deuyll out of the derke,
A counterfet courtyer with a knaues marke.

Friars, nuns, canons, and monks are frequent counterfeiters.

To counterfet this freers haue lerned me;
This nonnes nowe and then, and it myght be,
Wolde take, in the way of counterfet[1] Charyte,
The grace of God vnder *benedicite*.
To counterfet thyr counsell they gyue me a fee.
Chanons can not counterfet but vpon thre;
Monkys may not for drede that men sholde them se.

[STAGE II. SCENE 9.] *Hic ingrediatur* FANSY *properanter*[2] *cum* CRAFTY CONUEYAUNCE, *cum famine multo*[3] *adinuicem garrulantes; tandem uiso* COUNTERFET COUNTENAUNCE *dicat* CRAFTY CONUEYAUNCE:

(*Couplets.*)

CRAFTY CONUEYAUNCE. What! Counferfet Countenaunce!
COU. COU. What? Crafty Conueyaunce!

[1] C, connterfet (*misprint*); Rox., Dyce, counterfet.
[2] C, properantur; Dyce, -ter.
[3] C famina multa; Dyce, famine multo.

FAN. What the deuyll! are ye two of aquayntaunce? Fancy returns with Crafty Conveyance, a new arrival but an old acquaintance.
God gyue you a very myschaunce!
CRA. CON. Yes, yes, Syr; he and I haue met.
COU. COU. We haue bene togyder bothe erly and late.
But Fansy,[1] my frende, where haue ye bene so longe?
FAN. By God, I haue bene about a praty pronge,—
Crafty Conueyaunce, I sholde say, and I.
CRA. CON. By God, we haue made Magnyfycence to ete a flye. The two have already begun the deception of Magnificence,
COU. COU. Howe coulde ye do that, and I[2] was away?
FAN. By God, man, bothe his pagent and thyne he can play.
COU. COU. Say trouth?
CRA. CON. Yes, yes, by lakyn, I shall the warent,
As longe as I lyue, thou haste an heyre parent.
FAN. Yet haue we pyckyd out a rome for the. but need assistance from Counterfeit Countenance.
COU. COU. Why, shall we dwell togyder all thre?
CRA. CON. Why, man, it were to great a wonder,
That we thre galauntes sholde be longe asonder.
COU. COU. For Cockys harte, gyue me thy hande.
FAN. By the masse; for ye are able to dystroy an hole lande.
CRA. CON. By God, yet it muste begynne moche of the.
* * * * *
FAN. Who that is ruled by vs, it shalbe longe or he thee.
COU. COU. But I say, kepest thou the olde name styll that thou had?
CRA. CON. Why, wenyst thou, horson, that I were so mad?
FAN. Nay, nay; he hath chaunged his, and I haue chaunged myne.
COU. COU. Nowe what is his name? and what is thyne?
FAN. In faythe, Largesse I hyght; Fancy, or "Largess," has been made a knight.
And I am made a knyght.
COU. COU. A rebellyon agaynst Nature,—
So large a man, and so lytell of stature!
But, Syr, howe counterfetyd ye?
CRA. CON.[3] Sure Surueyaunce I named me. Crafty Conveyance has secured admission under the alias Sure Surveyance.
COU. COU.[4] Surueyaunce! Where ye suruey,
Thryfte hathe lost her cofer[5] kay.
FAN. But is it not well? howe thynkest thou?

[1] C, fausy; Rox., fansy; Dyce, Fansy. [2] C *omits* I; *supplied by* Dyce.
[3] C *gives this line to* Cou. Cou.; Dyce, Cra. Con.
[4] C *gives this speech to* Cra. Con.; Dyce, Cou. Cou. [5] Rox., coler.

Cou. Cou. Yes, Syr, I gyue God auowe,
Myselfe coude not counterfet it better.
The true origin of the letter now comes out. But what became of the letter
That I counterfeyted you vnderneth a shrowde?
Fan. By the masse, odly well alowde.
Cra. Con. By God, had not I it conuayed,
Yet Fansy had ben dyscryued.[1]
Cou. Cou. I wote thou arte false ynoughe for one.
Fan. By my trouthe, we had ben gone;
And yet, in fayth, man, we lacked the,
For to speke with Lyberte.
Cou. Con. What! is Largesse without Lyberte?
But Liberty is still mastered by Measure. Cra. Cou. By Mesure mastered yet is he.
Cou. Cou. What! is your Conueyaunce[2] no better?
Fan. In faythe, Mesure is lyke a tetter
That ouergroweth a mannes face,
So he ruleth ouer all our place.
Cra. Con. Nowe therfore, whylest we are togyder,—
Counterfet Countenaunce, nay, come hyder,—
I say, whylest we are togyder in same—
Cou. Cou. Tushe, a strawe! it is a shame
They study in vain to find some sharp fancy wherewith to confound their enemy, That we can no better than so!
Fan. We wyll remedy it, man, or we go;
For lyke as mustarde is sharpe of taste,[3]
Ryght so a sharpe Fansy must be founde,
Wherwith Mesure to confounde.
Cra. Con. Can you a remedy for a tysyke,
That sheweth yourselfe thus spedde in physyke?
Cou. Cou. It is a gentyll reason of a rake.
Fan. For all these iapes yet that ye[4] make—

[1] C, Dyce, dysceyued; Dyce (*query in note*, II. 451) dyscryued, *used as in line* 2370 *in the* (*unusual*) *sense of discover, a meaning which seems necessary in the present passage. For the M.E. confusion between descrive and descry, see the* N.E.D. *sub "descrive." With the assonance-rime* conuayed: dysceyued, *or* dyscryued, *cf. lines* 675, 6, conceyued : conuayed; 1347, 9, conueyed : perseyued; *and* 1651, 2, sayde : dyssayued.

[2] Rox., conueyance.

[3] Dyce (*query in note*), *a line wanting to rime with this?* Gent. Mag., *probably such a one as*, Nay, let us our heads together caste (*cf. line* 566). *In view of the number of single unrimed lines among the couplets* (552, 745, 779, 1117, 1179, 2082, 2250, 2276), *it seems unnecessary to suppose that a line has fallen out; the case is, however, different with the more strictly handled stanzas* (*see notes to lines* 1336, 2495, *and* 2464, 2465).

[4] C, we; Dyce, ye.

CRA. CON. Your Fansy maketh myne elbowe to ake.
FAN. Let se, fynde you a better way.
COU. COU. Take no dyspleasure of that we say.
CRA. CON. Nay, and you be angry and ouerwharte, and fall to jangling.
A man may beshrowe your angry harte.
FAN. Tushe, a strawe! I thought none yll.
COU. COU. What! shall we iangle thus all the day styll?
CRA. CON. Nay, let vs our heddes togyder cast.
FAN. Ye, and se howe it may be compast
That Mesure were cast out of the dores.
COU. COU. Alasse! where is my botes and my spores? Counterfeit Countenance has an idea,—
CRA. CON. In all this hast whether wyll ye ryde?
COU. COU. I trowe it shall not nede to abyde.
Cockes woundes! se, Syrs, se, se!

[STAGE II. SCENE 10.] *Hic ingrediatur* CLOKED COLUSYON, *cum elato aspectu, deorsum et sursum ambulando.*

FAN. Cockes armes! what is he?
CRA. CON. By Cockes harte, he loketh hye;
He hawketh, me thynke, for a butterflye.
COU. COU. Nowe, by Cockes harte, well abyden! to ride in haste for Cloaked Collusion, who appears conveniently.
For had you not come, I had ryden.
CLO. COL. Thy wordes be but wynde, neuer they haue no wayght;
Thou hast made me play the iurde hayte.
COU. COU. And yf ye knewe howe I haue mused,
I am sure ye wolde haue me excused.
CLO. COL. I say, come hyder; what are these twayne?
COU. COU. By God, Syr, this is Fansy Small-Brayne;
And Crafty Conuayaunce, knowe you not hym? The four rogues make themselves known to one another.
CLO. COL. Knowe hym, Syr? quod he. Yes, by Saynt Sym!
Here is a leysshe of ratches to renne an hare!
Woo is that purse that ye shall share!
FAN. What call ye him, this?
CRA. CON. I trowe that he is—
COU. COU. Tushe! holde your pece.
Se you not howe they prece
For to knowe your name?
CLO. COL. Knowe they not me? They are to blame.
Knowe you not me, Syrs?
FAN. No, in dede.

Cra. Con. Abyde—lette me se—take better hede—
Cockes harte! it is Cloked Colusyon!
Clo. Col. A, Syr, I pray God gyue you confusyon[1]!
Fan. Cockes armes! is that your name?
Cou. Cou. Ye, by the masse, this is euen the same,
That all this matter must vnder grope.

Some sly jests are broken over the ill-fitting priestly disguise of the new recruit.

Cra. Con. What is this he wereth? a cope?
Clo. Col. Cappe, Syr? I say you be to bolde.
Fan. Se howe he is wrapped for the colde.
Is it not a vestment?
Clo. Col. A, ye wante a rope.
Cou. Cou. Tushe! it is Syr Johñ[2] Double-Cope.[3]
Fan. Syr, and yf ye wolde not be wrothe—
Clo. Col. What sayst?
Fan. Here was to lytell clothe.
Clo. Col. A, Fansy, Fansy, God sende the brayne!
Fan. Ye, for your wyt is cloked for the rayne.
Cra. Con. Nay, lette vs not clatter thus styll.
Clo. Col. Tell me, Syrs, what is your wyll?

Then the situation is fully explained to him:—

Cou. Cou. Syr, it is so that these twayne
With Magnyfycence in housholde do remayne;
And there they wolde haue[4] me to dwell.
But I wyll be ruled after your counsell.
Fan. Mary, so wyll we also.
Clo. Col. But tell me where aboute ye go.
Cou. Cou. By God, we wolde gete vs all thyder,
Spell the remenaunt, and do togyder.
Clo. Col. Hath Magnyfycence ony tresure?
Cra. Con. Ye; but he spendeth it all in Mesure.
Clo. Col. Why, dwelleth Mesure where ye two dwell?
In faythe, he were better to dwell in hell.
Fan. Yet where we wonne, nowe there wonneth he.

how Measure keeps Liberty in captivity;

Clo. Col. And haue you not amonge you Lyberte?
Cou. Cou. Ye; but he is a captyuyte.

[1] C, coufusyon (*misprint*); Rox., Dyce, confusyon.
[2] Dyce, Johnn. *Cf. lines* 961, 1187, 1205. *Dyce's form has no parallel; and the stroke here is probably, as in line* 2126 (C. s̄. *for a hundred shillings*), *a mark of abbreviation, the full writing being* Johan. *The rime* fon: Johñ, *line* 1187, *shows the pronunciation also to have been shortened.*
[3] C, Dyce, cloke. *But cf. rime and use of* cope *in line* 601. *See note to line* 728.
[4] C, hane (*misprint*); Dyce, haue.

CLO. COL. What the deuyll! howe may that be?
COU. COU. I can not tell you; why aske you me?
Aske these two that there dothe dwell.
CLO. COL.[1] Syr, the playnesse you me tell.[2]
CRA. CON.[3] There dwelleth a mayster men calleth Mesure—
FAN. Ye, and he hath rule of all his tresure.
CRA. CON.[4] Nay, eyther let me tell, or elles tell ye.
FAN. I care not, I; tell on for me.
COU. COU. I pray God let you neuer to thee!
CLO. COL. What the deuyll ayleth you? can you not agree?
CRA. CON. I wyll passe ouer the cyrcumstaunce
And shortly shewe you the hole substaunce.
Fansy and I, we twayne,
With Magnyfycence in housholde do remayne;[5]
And counterfeted our names we haue,
Craftely all thynges vpryght to saue,—
His name Largesse, Surueyaunce myne;
Magnyfycence to vs begynneth to enclyne,
Counterfet Countenaunce to haue also,
And wolde that we sholde for hym go,—
COU. COU. But shall I haue myne olde name styll?
CRA. CON. Pease, I haue not yet sayd what I wyll.
FAN. Here is a pystell of a postyke!
CLO. COL. Tusshe! fonnysshe Fansy, thou arte frantyke.
Tell on, Syr; howe then?
CRA. CON. Mary, Syr, he told vs, when
We had hym founde, we sholde hym brynge,
And that we fayled not for nothynge.
CLO. COL. All this ye may easely brynge aboute.
FAN. Mary, the better and Mesure were out.
CLO. COL. Why, can ye not put out that foule freke?
CRA. CON. No; in euery corner he wyll peke,
So that we haue no Lyberte;
Nor no man in courte, but he,

how the two remain in the household of Magnificence, under counterfeit names;

and how they are about to introduce Counterfeit Countenance,

[1] C *gives this line to* Cra. Con.; Dyce, *to* Clo. Col.
[2] C, you tell me; Dyce (*query in note*), you me tell *for rime?*
[3] C *omits prefix to this line;* Dyce, Cra. Con.
[4] *The two printed copies differ here* (*cf. lines* 1883 *and* 2014) *in the prefix:* C, Crafty onucey. (*misprint*); B. M., Rox., Crafty conuey. (*as elsewhere*); Dyce, Cr. Con.
[5] C, remayue (*misprint*); Rox., Dyce, remayne.

For Lyberte he hath in gydyng.
Cou. Cou. In fayth, and without Lyberte there is no bydyng.
Fan. In fayth, and Lybertyes rome is there but small.
Clo. Col. Hem! that lyke I nothynge at all.
Cra. Con.[1] But, Counterfet Countenaunce, go we togyder,
All thre, I say.
Cou. Cou. Shall I go? whyder?
Cra. Con.[2] To Magnyfycence with vs[3] twayne,
And in his seruyce the to retayne.
Cou. Cou. But then, Syr, what shall I hyght?
Cra. Con. Ye and I talkyd therof to nyght.
Fan. Ye, my Fansy was out of owle flyght,
For it is out of my mynde quyght.

for whom they now select the alias Good Demeanance.

Cra. Con. And nowe it cometh to my remembraunce;
Syr, ye shall hyght Good Demeynaunce.
Cou. Cou. By the armes of Calys, well conceyued!
Cra. Con. When we haue hym thyder conuayed,[4]
What and I frame suche a slyght
That Fansy with his fonde Consayte

The next step shall be to secure admission for Cloaked Collusion, under the name Sober Sadness;

Put Magnyfycence in suche a madnesse
That he shall haue you in the stede of Sadnesse,
And Sober Sadnesse shalbe your name?
Clo. Col. By Cockys body, here begynneth the game!
For then shall we so craftely cary
That Mesure shall not there longe tary.

whom the three ask to await them while they go to execute this plan.

Fan. For Cockys harte, tary whylyst that I come agayne.
Cra. Con. We wyll se you shortly, one of vs twayne.
Cou. Cou. Now let vs go, and we shall, then.
Clo. Col. Nowe let se; quyte you lyke praty men.

[5 *Exit* Fansy, Crafty Conueyaunce, *and* Counterfet Countenaunce.]

[Stage II. Scene 11.] *Hic deambulat* [Cloked Colusyon].

(*Rime royal.*)

Monologue of Cloaked Collusion.

To passe the tyme and order whyle a man may talke
Of one thynge and other to occupy the place,
Then for the season that I here shall walke,

[1] C *omits prefix;* Dyce, Cra. Con.
[2] C *gives speech to* Clo. Col.; Dyce, Cra. Con. [3] Rox., us.
[4] *Assonance-rime; see note to line* 535.
[5] C *omits stage-direction;* Dyce *supplies.*

As good to be occupyed as vp and downe to trace
And do nothynge; how be it, full lytell grace
There cometh and groweth of my comynge;
For Clokyd Colusyon is a perylous thynge.

He will talk to pass the time.

Double Delynge and I be all one;
Craftynge and haftynge contryued is by me;
I can dyssemble, I can bothe laughe and grone;
Playne Delynge and I can neuer agre;
But Dyuysyon, Dyssencyon, Dyrysyon,—these thre,
And I, am counterfet of one mynde and thought,
By the menys of Myschyef to bryng all thynges to nought.

A dangerous dissembler and mischief-maker.

And though I be so odyous a geste,
And euery man gladly my company wolde refuse,
In faythe, yet am I occupyed with the best;
Full fewe that can themselfe of me excuse.
Whan other men laughe, than study I and muse,
Deuysynge the meanes and wayes that I can,
Howe I may hurte and hynder euery man.

But though odious, he is everywhere received.

Two faces in a hode couertly I bere;
Water in the one hande and fyre in the other:
I can fede forth a fole and lede hym by the eyre;
Falshode-in-felowshyp is my sworne brother.
By Cloked Colusyon, I say, and none other,
Comberaunce and trouble in Englande fyrst I began;
From that lorde to that lorde I rode and I ran,

He is double-faced,

and runs from lord to lord

And flatered them with fables fayre before theyr face,
And tolde all the Myschyef I coude behynde theyr backe,
And made as I had knowen nothynge of the case,—
I wolde begyn all Myschyef, but I wolde bere no lacke.
Thus can I lerne you, Syrs, to bere the deuyls sacke[1];
And yet, I trowe, some of you be better sped than I
Frendshyp to fayne and thynke full lytherly.

with flattery and falsehood.

Paynte to a purpose Good Countenaunce I can,
And craftely can I grope howe euery man is mynded;
My purpose is to spy and to poynte euery man;

He is an all-accomplished spy and hypocrite.

[1] C, sācke (*misprint*); Dyce, sacke. *Cf. line* 2190.

My tonge is with Fauell forked and tyned.[1] 727
By Cloked Colusyon thus many one is begyled.[1]
Eche man to hynder I gape and I gaspe;
My speche is all Pleasure, but I stynge lyke a waspe. 730

He is never glad but when he may do ill,

I am neuer glad but whan I may do yll,
And neuer am I sory but whan that I se
I can not myne appetyte[2] accomplysshe and fulfyll
In hynderaunce of Welthe and Prosperyte. 734
I laughe at all Shrewdenes,[3] and lye at Lyberte.
I muster, I medle amonge these grete estates;

and sow seeds of discord,

I sowe sedycyous sedes of Dyscorde and debates. 737

by flattering those who are credulous enough.

To flater and to flery is all my pretence
Amonge all suche persones as I well vnderstonde
Be lyght of byleue and hasty of credence;
I make them to startyll and sparkyll lyke a bronde; 741
I moue them, I mase them, I make them so fonde,
That they wyll here no man but the fyrst tale;
And so by these meanes I brewe moche bale. 744

[Stage II. Scene 12.] *Hic ingrediatur* Courtly Abusyon *cantando.*

Courtly Abusyon. Huffa huffa taunderum taunderum tayne huffa huffa![4] (*Couplets.*)

Clo. Col. This was properly prated, Syrs! what sayd a?

Courtly Abusion enters singing,

Cou. Ab. Rutty bully ioly rutterkyn heyda!

Clo. Col. *De que pays este vous?*
Et faciat tanquam exuat beretum ironice.[5]

with brave words

Cou. Ab. Decke your hofte[6] and couer a lowce. 749

Clo. Col. *Say vous chaunter "Venter tre dawce?"*

Cou. Ab.[7] *Wyda, wyda.*
Howe sayst thou, man? am not I a ioly rutter? 752

Clo. Col. Gyue this gentylman rome, Syrs, stonde vtter!

[1] *Assonance for rime;* Professor Bright *suggests* blynded *for* begyled. *Assonance is rarely substituted for rime in this play; cf. lines* 1808–1811 *and notes to lines* 535, 605, 775, 794, 1848.
[2] Rox., Dyce, apyetyte. [3] Rox., shrewdness.
[4] *An unrimed line; see note to line* 552.
[5] C, exiat beretrum cronice; Dyce (*query in note*), *exuat* (*or rather, exueret*) *barretum* (i. e. *pileum*) *ironice?*
[6] Rox., hoste. [7] C, Courtly abusyō; Rox., Courtly abusiō.

By God, Syr, what nede all this waste? and brave apparel.
What is this, a betell or a batowe[1] or a buskyn lacyd?
Cou. Ab. What! wenyst thou that I knowe the not, Clokyd Colusyon? But the two are old acquaintances, and do not deceive each other.
Clo. Col. And wenyst thou that I knowe not the, cankard Abusyon?
Cou. Ab. Cankard Jacke Hare, loke thou be not rusty;
For thou shalt well knowe I am nother durty nor dusty.
Clo. Col. Dusty! Nay, Syr, ye be all of the lusty;
Howe be it, of Scape Thryfte your clokes smelleth musty.
But whether art thou walkynge, in faythe vnfaynyd[2]?
Cou. Ab. Mary, with Magnyfycence I wolde be retaynyd.
Clo. Col. By the masse, for the cowrte thou art a mete man;
Thy slyppers they swap it, yet thou fotys it lyke a swanne.
Cou. Ab. Ye, so I can deuyse my gere after the cowrtly maner.
Clo. Col. So thou arte personable to bere a prynces baner.
[3]By Goddes fote, and I dare well fyght, for I wyll not start.
Cou. Ab. Nay, thou art a man good inough but for thy false hart.
Clo. Col. Well, and I be a coward, ther is mo than I.
Cou. Ab. Ye, in faythe, a bolde man and a hardy. Courtly Abusion desires some military position, an ambition not shared by his friend, who admits his own cowardice.
Clo. Col. (A bolde man in a bole of newe ale in cornys.)
Cou. Ab. Wyll ye se this gentylman is all in his skornys?
Clo. Col. But are ye not auysed to dwell where ye spake?
Cou. Ab. I am of fewe wordys; I loue not to crake.[4]
Beryst thou any rome? or cannyst thou do ought?
Cannyst thou helpe in fauer that I myght be brought?
Clo. Col. I may do somwhat, and more I thynke shall. but magnifies his favour at court,

[Stage II. Scene 13.] *Here cometh in* Crafty Conueyaunce, *poyntyng with his fynger, and sayth,*

Cra. Con. Hem, Colusyon![5]
Cou. Ab. Cockys harte! who is yonde that for the dothe call? and to impress Courtly Abusion,

[1] Dyce (*query in note*), batone? *but* (II. 247) *decides in favour of* botowe, *i. e. boot.* [2] Rox., unfaynyd.
[3] Dyce (*query in note*), *change of prefixes in lines* 768–772 *as follows:* 768, Cou. Ab.; 769, Clo. Col.; 770, Cou. Ab.; 771, 772, Clo. Col. *The original assignment seems preferable, since elsewhere the boldness of* Cou. Ab. *and the cowardice of* Clo. Col. *are insisted on: cf. lines* 809–814, 822–824, 2181–2192.
[4] C, Dyce, barke; Am., crake (*for rime*); *cf. line* 812. *See note to line* 728. [5] *An unrimed line; see note to line* 552.

plays the supercilious courtier towards Crafty Conveyance.

Cra. Con.[1] Nay, come at ones, for the armys of the dyce!
Cou. Ab. Cockys armys! he hath callyd for the twyce.
Clo. Col. By Cockys harte! and call shall agayne;
To come to me I trowe he shalbe fayne.
Cou. Ab. What! is thy harte pryckyd with such a prowde pynne?
Clo. Col. Tushe! he that hath nede, man, let hym rynne.
Cra. Con. Nay, come away, man; thou playst the cayser.
Clo. Col.[2] By the masse, thou shalt byde my leyser.
Cra. Con. Abyde, Syr, quod he? Mary, so I do.
Cou. Ab. He wyll come, man, when he may tende to.
Cra. Con. What the deuyll! who sent for the?
Clo. Col. Here he is nowe, man; mayst thou not se?

Crafty Conveyance is puzzled and alarmed.

Cra. Con. What the deuyll! man, what thou menyst?
Art thou so angry as thou semyst[3]?
Cou. Ab. What the deuyll! can ye agre no better?
Cra. Con. What the deuyll! where had we this ioly ietter?
Col. Col. What sayst thou, man? why dost thou not supplye?
And desyre me thy good mayster to be?
Cou. Ab. Spekest thou to me?
Clo. Col. Ye, so I tell the.
Cou. Ab. Cockes bones! I ne tell can
Whiche of you is the better man,
Or whiche of you can do most.
Cra. Con. In fayth, I rule moche of the rost.

They have a bloodless quarrel,

Clo. Col. Rule the roste! thou woldest, ye,[4]
As skante thou had no nede of me.
Cra. Con. Nede? yes, mary; I say not nay.
Cou. Ab. Cockes harte![5] I trowe thou wylte make a fray.
Cra. Con. Nay, in good faythe; it is but the gyse.
Clo. Col. No; for or we stryke, we wyll be aduysed twyse.
Cou. Ab. What the deuyll! vse ye not to drawe no swordes?

and inform Courtly Abusion that such frays are the modern guise.

Cra. Con. No, by my trouthe; but crake grete wordes.
Cou. Ab. Why, is this the gyse nowe adays?
Clo. Col. Ye, for surety; ofte peas is taken for frayes.
But, Syr, I wyll haue this man with me.

[1] C *gives this line to* Clo. Col.; Dyce, Cra. Con. *in view of lines* 782, 787.
[2] C *gives this line to* Cou. Ab.; Dyce, Clo. Col.
[3] *Assonance rime; see note to line* 728.
[4] C, ye thou woldest; Dyce *conjectures* thou woldest, ye *for the rime.*
[5] C, hate (*misprint*); Dyce, harte.

CRA. CON. Conuey yourselfe fyrst, let se.
CLO. COL. Well, tarry here tyll I for you sende.
CRA. CON. Why, shall he be of your bende?
CLO. COL. Tary here; wote ye what I say?
COU. AB. I waraunt you I wyll not go away.
CRA. CON. By Saynt Mary, he is a tawle man.
CLO. COL. Ye, and do ryght good seruyce he can;
I knowe in hym no defaute
But that the horson is prowde and hawte.

Then they depart, promising to secure a place for him.

And so they go out of the place [*i. e.* CLOKED COLUYSON *and* CRAFTY CONUEYAUNCE].

COU. AB. Nay, purchace ye a pardon for the pose;
For Pryde hath plucked the by the nose
As well as me; I wolde, and I durste,—
But nowe I wyll not say the worste.

[STAGE II. SCENE 14.] COURTLY ABUSYON *alone in the place.*

COU. AB. What nowe? Let se
Who loketh on me
Well rounde aboute,
Howe gay and howe stoute
That I can were
Courtly my gere:

(*Half-line couplets.*)

Left alone, he struts before the audience.

My heyre bussheth
So plesauntly,
My robe russheth
So ruttyngly,
Me seme I flye,
I am so lyght
To daunce delyght;

(*Half-line rime royal.*)
Monologue of Courtly Abusion.

Properly drest
All poynte deuyse,
My persone prest
Beyonde all syse
Of the newe gyse,
To russhe it oute
In euery route.

A dandy, who pushes the new guise to extremes.

Beyonde Measure
My sleue is wyde,
Wide sleeves, tightly gartered hose, and rich buskins.
Al of Pleasure
My hose strayte tyde,
My buskyn wyde,
Ryche to beholde,
Gletterynge in golde.

He is the ruin of all who "use" him,—
Abusyon
Forsothe I hyght;
Confusyon
Shall on hym lyght
By day or by nyght
That vseth me,—
He can not thee.

overweening fools who seek their own destruction,
A very fon,
A very asse
Wyll take vpon
To compasse
That neuer was
Abusyd before;
A very pore

That so wyll do,
He doth abuse
and then accuse others.
Hym selfe to to;
He dothe mysse vse
Eche man to akuse,[1]
To crake and prate;
I befoule his pate.

He has brought the new fashions from France,
This newe fonne iet
From out of Fraunce
Fyrst I dyd set;
Made purueaunce
And suche ordenaunce,
That all men it founde
Through out Englonde.

[1] C, take a fe; Dyce *notes apparent corruption but suggests no change;* Am., to akuse.

All this nacyon
I set on fyre;
In my facyon,
This theyr desyre,
This newe atyre;
This ladyes haue,
I it them gaue.

and has inflamed the whole English nation with desire for them.

Spare for no coste;
And yet in dede
It is coste loste
Moche more than nede
For to excede
In suche aray;
Howe be it, I say,

Prodigality is found everywhere.

A carlys sonne,
Brought vp of nought,
Wyth me wyll wonne
Whylyst he hath ought;
He wyll haue wrought
His gowne so wyde
That he may hyde

Nobodies ape the most extravagant modes;

His dame and his syre
Within his slyue;
Spende all his hyre
That men hym gyue;
Wherfore I preue,
A Tyborne checke
Shall breke his necke.

when they have run through their money, they are apt to end at Tyburn.

Here cometh in Fansy *craynge,*

Fan. Stow, stow!
Cou. Ab. All is out of harre
And out of trace,
Ay warre and warre
In euery place.

Things grow worse and worse.

[Stage II. Scene 15.]

But what the deuyll art thou
That cryest, "Stow, stow?"

(*Couplets.*)

Fancy, with hawk on fist,

FAN. What! whom haue we here, Jenkyn Joly?
Nowe welcom, by the God holy!
COU. AB. What! Fansy, my frende! howe doste thou fare?
FAN. By Cryst, as mery as a Marche hare.
COU. AB. What the deuyll hast thou on thy fyste? an owle?
FAN. Nay, it is a farly fowle.
COU. AB. Me thynke she frowneth and lokys sowre.
FAN. Torde! man, it is an hawke of the towre.
She is made for the malarde fat.
COU. AB. Methynke she is well becked to catche a rat.
But nowe what tydynges can you tell? let se.

comes to summon Courtly Abusion to the palace,

FAN. Mary, I am come for the.
COU. AB. For me?
FAN. Ye, for the, so I say.
COU. AB. Howe so? tell me, I the pray.

where there has just been a notable fray.

FAN. Why, harde thou not of the fray
That fell amonge vs this same day?
COU. AB. No, mary; not yet.
FAN. What the deuyll! neuer a whyt?
COU. AB. No, by the masse; what! sholde I swere?

Liberty is now set free;

FAN. In faythe, Lyberte is nowe a lusty spere.
COU. AB. Why, vnder whom was he abydynge?

Measure has been deposed from favour,

FAN. Mary, Mesure had hym a whyle in gydynge,
Tyll, as the deuyll wolde, they fell a chydynge
With Crafty Conuayaunce.
COU. AB. Ye, dyd they so?
FAN. Ye, by Goddes sacrament; and with other mo.
COU. AB. What! neded that, in the dyuyls date?
FAN. Yes, yes; he fell with me also at debate.
COU. AB. With the also? what! he playeth the state?
FAN. Ye; but I bade hym pyke out of the gate;
By Goddes body, so dyd I.
COU. AB. By the masse, well done and boldely.
FAN. Holde thy pease! Measure shall frome vs walke.

"crossed with a chalk" by a "pretty sleight."

COU. AB. Why, is he crossed than with a chalke?
FAN. Crossed? ye, checked out of Consayte.
COU. AB. Howe so?
FAN. By God, by a praty slyght,
As here after thou shalte knowe more.
But I must tary here; go thou before.

Cou. Ab. With whom shall I there mete?
Fan. Crafty Conueyaunce standeth in the strete
Euen of purpose for the same.
Cou. Ab. Ye, but what shall I call my name?
Fan. Cockes harte! tourne the, let me se thyne aray.
Cockes bones! this is all of Johñ[1] de Gay.
Cou. Ab. So I am poynted after my Consayte.
Fan. Mary, thou iettes it of hyght.
Cou. Ab. Ye, but of my name let vs be wyse.
Fan. Mary, Lusty Pleasure, by myne aduyse,[2]
To name thyselfe; come of, it were done.
Cou. Ab. Farewell, my frende.
Fan. Adue tyll sone.

Crafty Conveyance is waiting in the street for Courtly Abusion;

who accordingly departs, after selecting as his alias Lusty Pleasure.

[*Exit* Courtly Abusyon.]

[Stage II. Scene 16.]

Fan. Stowe, byrde, stowe, stowe!
It is best I fede my hawke now.
There is many euyll faueryd, and thou be foule!
Eche thynge is fayre when it is yonge; all hayle, owle!

Fancy plays with his hawk.

Lo, this is
My Fansy, iwys;[3]
Nowe Cryst it blysse!
It is, by Jesse,

(*Half-line leash or "Skeltonical."*)

Monologue o Fancy.

A byrde full swete,
For me full mete;
She is furred for the hete
All to the fete;

He is extremely proud of the bird, which is much like its master.

Her browys bent,
Her eyen glent;
Frome Tyne to Trent,
From Stroude to Kent,

A man shall fynde
Many of her kynde,
Howe standeth the wynde,
Before or behynde;

[1] Dyce, Johnn. *See note to line* 605. [2] Rox., advyse.
[3] C, Iwys; Rox., Dyce, I wys. *Cf. line* 1176.

Barbyd lyke a nonne
For burnynge of the sonne ;
Her fethers donne ;
Well faueryd bonne !

Some horse-play with the audience.

Nowe let me se about,
In all this rowte
Yf I can fynde out
So semely a snowte

Amonge this prese,—
Euen a hole mese—
Pease, man, peaše !
I rede we sease.

After renewed admiration of the bird,

So farly fayre as it lokys !
And her becke so comely crokys !
Her naylys sharpe as tenter hokys !
I haue not kept her yet thre wokys,

And howe styll she dothe syt !
Teuyt, teuyt !
Where is my wyt?
The deuyll spede whyt !

(*Couplets.*) he turns to a confession of his own character :

That was before I set behynde ;
Nowe to curteys, forthwith vnkynde ;
Somtyme to sober, somtyme to sadde,
Somtyme to mery, somtyme to madde ;

scatter-brained, light-headed,

Somtyme I syt as I were solempe prowde ;
Somtyme I laughe ouer lowde ;
Somtyme I wepe for a gew gaw ;
Somtyme I laughe at waggynge of a straw ;
With a pere my loue you may wynne,
And ye may lese it for a pynne.
I haue a thynge for to say,
And I may tende therto for play ;
But in faythe I am so occupyed
On this halfe and on euery syde
That I wote not where I may rest.
Fyrst to tell you what were best,—
Frantyke Fansy-Seruyce I hyght ;

My wyttys be weke, my braynys are lyght; and weak-witted,
For it is I that other whyle
Plucke down lede and theke with tyle;
Nowe I wyll this, and nowe I wyll that;
Make a wyndmyll of a mat;
Nowe I wolde,—and I wyst what;
Where is my cappe? I haue lost my hat!
And within an houre after,
Plucke downe an house and set vp a rafter; he is never of the same mind two hours together,
Hyder and thyder, I wote not whyder;
Do and vndo, bothe togyder;
Of a spyndell I wyll make a sparre;
All that I make forthwith I marre; but forthwith mars all he makes.
I blunder, I bluster, I blowe, and I blother;
I make on the one day, and I marre on the other;
Bysy, bysy, and euer bysy,
I daunce vp and downe tyll I am dyssy;
I can fynde fantasyes where none is;
I wyll not haue it so, I wyll haue it this.

[Stage II. Scene 17.] *Hic ingrediatur* Foly *quatiendo crema*[1] *et faciendo multum, feriendo tabulas, et similia.*

Foly. Maysters, Cryst saue euerychone!
What, Fansy! arte thou here alone?
Fan. What, fonnysshe Foly! I befole thy face.
Fol. What, frantyke Fansy! in a foles case? Folly enters in fool's costume,
What is this? an owle or a glede? and examines Fancy's owl.
By my trouthe, she hathe a grete hede.
Fan. Tusshe! thy lyppes hange in thyne eye;[2]
It is a Frenche butterflye.
Fol. By my trouthe, I trowe well;
But she is lesse a grete dele
Than a butterflye of our lande.
Fan. What pylde curre ledest thou in thy hande? Fancy inquires in

[1] C, quesiendo crema; Dyce, quatiendo crema; Dyce (*query in note*), *hardly a misprint for* cremia: *perhaps* crembalum? Gent. Mag., *a Latinized form of the Greek* χρῆμα, *used to denote his thing or bauble; so in* Speke Parrot *we find* chaire (*line* 30) *and* myden agan (54), *etc.;* Dyce (II. 487) *doubts this solution;* Am., crebro?

[2] C, eyen; Dyce, eye.

return about Folly's pet, a mangy cur;

FOL. A pylde curre!
FAN. Ye, so I tell the, a pylde curre.
FOL. Yet I solde his skynne to Mackemurre,
In the stede of a budge furre.

but Folly has all at once grown very deaf.

FAN. What! heyest thou his skynne euery yere?
FOL. Yes, in faythe, I thanke God I may here.
FAN. What! thou wylte coughe me a dawe for forty pens?
FOL. Mary, Syr, Cokermowthe is a good way hens.
FAN. What! of Cokermowth spake I no worde.
FOL. By my faythe, Syr, the frubyssher hath my sworde.
FAN. A, I trowe ye shall coughe me a fole.
FOL. In faythe, trouthe ye say, we wente togyder to scole.
FAN. Ye, but I can somwhat more of the letter.

His hearing returns when the subject changes;

FOL. I wyll not gyue an halfepeny for to chose the better.
FAN. But, Broder Foly, I wonder moche of one thynge,
That thou so hye fro me doth sprynge,
And I so lytell alway styll.

and he explains why the two brothers have become so strangely unlike.

FOL. By God, I can tell the; and I wyll:
Thou art so feble-fantastycall,
And so braynsyke therwithall,
And thy wyt wanderynge here and there,
That thou cannyst not growe out of thy boyes gere;
And as for me, I take but one folysshe way,
And therfore I growe more on one day
Than thou can in yerys seuen.
FAN. In faythe, trouth thou sayst nowe, by God of heuen!
For so with fantasyes my wyt dothe flete
That Wysdome and I shall seldome mete.

Renewed inquiry about the dog brings a second attack of deafness,

Nowe, of good felowshyp, let me by thy dogge.[1]
FOL. Cockys harte! thou lyest; I am no hogge.[2]
FAN. Here is no man that callyd the hogge nor swyne.
FOL. In faythe, man, my brayne is as good as thyne.
FAN. The deuyls torde for thy brayne!
FOL. By my syers soule, I fele no rayne.
FAN. By the masse, I holde the madde.

with many irrelevant answers.

FOL. Mary, I knewe the when thou waste a ladde.
FAN. Cockys bonys! herde ye euer syke another?
FOL. Ye, a fole the tone, and a fole the tother.

[1] C, hogge; Dyce, dogge.
[2] C, dogge; Dyce, hogge. *Cf. lines* 384, 385.

FAN. Nay, but wotest thou what I do say?
FOL. Why, sayst thou that I was here yesterday?
FAN. Cockys armys! this is a warke, I trowe.
FOL. What! callyst thou me a donnyshe crowe?
FAN. Nowe, in good faythe, thou art a fonde gest.
FOL. Ye, bere me this strawe to a dawys nest.
FAN. What! wenyst thou that I were so folysshe and so fonde?
FOL. In fayth, ellys is there none in all Englonde.
FAN. Yet for my Fansy sake, I say,
Let me haue thy dogge, what soeuer I pay.
FOL. Thou shalte haue my purse, and I wyll haue thyne.
FAN. By my trouth, there is myne.
FOL. Nowe, by my trouth, man, take, there is my purse;[1]
And I beshrowe hym that hath the worse.
FAN. Torde! I say, what haue I do?
Here is nothynge but the bockyll of a sho,
And in my purse was twenty marke.
FOL. Ha, ha, ha! herke, Syrs, harke!
For all that my name hyght Foly,
By the masse, yet art thou more fole than I.
FAN. Yet gyue me thy dogge, and I am content;
And thou shalte haue my hauke to a botchment.
FOL. That euer thou thryue, God it forfende!
For, Goddes cope! thou wyll spende.
Nowe take thou my dogge and gyue me thy fowle.[2]
FAN. Hay, chysshe! come hyder!
FOL. Nay, torde! take hym be tyme.
FAN. What callest thou thy dogge?
FOL. Tusshe! his name is Gryme.
FAN. Come, Gryme! come, Gryme! it is my praty dogges.
FOL. In faythe, there is not a better dogge for hogges,
Not from Anwyke vnto Aungey.
FAN. Ye, but trowest thou that he be not maungey?
FOL. No, by my trouthe; it is but the scurfe and the scabbe.
FAN. What? he hathe ben hurte with a stabbe?
FOL. Nay, in faythe; it was but a strype

At last Folly consents to sell his animal,

cheating his brother roundly in the bargain.

[1] C, Dyce, myne; Dyce (*query in note*), my purse, *for the rime?*
[2] Dyce (*query in note*), *a line wanting to rime with this? But see note to line* 552.

That the horson had for etynge of a trype.

A sorry cur,

FAN. Where the deuyll gate he all these hurtes? 1128

FOL. By God, for snatchynge of puddynges and wortes.

FAN. What! then he is some good poore mannes curre?

FOL. Ye, but he wyll in at euery mannes dore.

but Fancy is blind to all his defects.

FAN. Nowe thou hast done me a pleasure grete. 1132

FOL. In faythe, I wolde thou had a marmosete.

FAN. Cockes harte! I loue suche iapes.

FOL. Ye, for all thy mynde is on owles and apes.

But I haue thy pultre, and thou hast my catell. 1136

FAN. Ye, but Thryfte and we haue made a batell.

The two talk over their school-days,

FOL. Remembrest thou not the iapes and the toyes—

FAN. What? that we vsed whan we were boyes?

FOL. Ye, by the rode, euen the same. 1140

FAN. Yes, yes, I am yet as full of game

As euer I was, and as full of tryfyls,—

Nil, nichelum,[1] *nihil,—anglice*, nyfyls.

and are surprised to find that they still retain some scraps of Latin;

FOL. What! canest thou all this Latyn[2] yet, 1144

And hath so mased a wandrynge wyt?

FAN. Tushe, man! I kepe some Latyn in store.

FOL. By Cockes harte, I wene thou hast no more?

FAN. No? Yes, in faythe; I can versyfy. 1148

whereupon they gleefully match rather doubtful hexameters.

FOL. Then I pray the hartely,

Make a verse of my butterfly;

It forseth not of the reason, so it kepe ryme.

FAN. But wylte thou make another on Gryme? 1152

FOL. Nay, in fayth fyrst let me here thyne.

FAN. Mary! as for that, thou shalte sone here myne. 1154

(*Macaronic hexameters.*)

VERSUS.[3]

[FAN.] *Est snaui snago* with a shrewde face *uilis imago.*

FOL. *Grimbaldus*[4] gredy snatche a puddyng tyl the rost be redy.

FAN. By the harte of God, well done! 1157

FOL. Ye, so redely and so sone!

[1] Dyce, nihilum. [2] C, lutyn; Dyce, Latyn.

[3] C *puts this direction between the hexameters* (*misprint?*); Dyce *om., mentioned in note.*

[4] C, Grībald; Dyce, Grimbaldus.

[Stage II. Scene 18.] *Here cometh in* Crafty Conueyaunce.

Cra. Con. What, Fansy! Let me se who is the tother.
Fan. By God, Syr, Foly, myne owne sworne brother.
Cra. Con. Cockys bonys! it is a farle freke;
Can he play well at the hoddypeke?
Fan. Tell by thy trouth what sport can thou make.
Fol. A, holde thy peas! I haue the tothe ake.
Cra. Con. The tothe ake! lo, a torde ye haue.
Fol. Ye, thou haste the four quarters of a knaue.
Cra. Con. Wotyst thou, I say, to whom thou spekys?
Fan. Nay, by Cockys harte, he ne reckys;
For he wyll speke to Magnyfycence thus.
Cra. Con. Cockys armys! a mete man for vs.
Fol. What? wolde ye haue mo folys, and are so many?
Fan. Nay, offer hym a counter in stede of a peny.
Cra. Con. Why, thynkys thou he can no better skyll?
Fol. In fayth, I can make you bothe folys, and I wyll.
Cra. Con. What haste thou on thy fyst? a kesteryll[1]?
Fol. Nay, iwys,[2] fole; it is a doteryll.
Cra. Con. In a cote thou can play well the dyser.
Fol. Ye, but thou can play the fole without a vyser.
Fan. Howe rode he by you? howe put he to you?[3]
Cra. Con. Mary, as thou sayst, he gaue me a blurre.
But where gatte thou that mangey curre?
Fan. Mary, it was his, and nowe it is myne.
Cra. Con. And was it his, and nowe it is thyne?
Thou must haue thy Fansy and thy Wyll,
But yet thou shalt holde me a fole styll.
Fol. Why, wenyst thou that I cannot make the play the fon?
Fan. Yes, by my faythe, good Syr Johñ.[4]
Cra. Con. For you bothe it were inough.
Fol. Why, wenyst thou that I were as moche a fole as thou?
Fan. Nay, nay; thou shalte fynde hym another maner of man.
Fol. In faythe, I can do mastryes, so I can.
Cra. Con. What canest thou do but play Cocke Wat?

Crafty Conveyance at first forms but a mean opinion of Folly;

but when he is beaten, first in repartee,

[1] C, besteryll; Dyce, kesteryll.
[2] C, Iwys; Rox., Dyce, I wys. *Cf. line* 973.
[3] Dyce (*query in note*), *for the rhyme*, you there? Gent. Mag., *We would rather break the line into two short verses; see also* Dyce (*note* II. 487). *Better taken as a single unrimed line; see note to line* 552.
[4] Dyce, Johnn. *See note to line* 605.

FAN. Yes, yet[1] he wyll make the ete a gnat.

and then in a wager,

FOL. Yes, yes,[2] by my trouth; I holde the a grote
That I shall laughe the out of thy cote.
CRA. CON. Than wyll I say that thou haste no pere.
FAN. Nowe, by the rode, and he wyll go nere.
FOL. Hem, Fansy! *regardes, voyes vous.*[3]

Here FOLY *maketh semblaunt to take a lowse from* CRAFTY CONUEYAUNCE *showlder.*

FAN. What hast thou founde there?
FOL. By God, a lowse.
CRA. CON. By Cockes harte, I trowe thou lyste.
FOL. By the masse, a Spaynysshe[4] moght with a gray lyste!
FAN. Ha, ha, ha, ha, ha, ha!
CRA. CON. Cockes armes! it is not so, I trowe.

Here CRAFTY CONUEYAUNCE[5] *putteth of his gowne.*

FOL. Put on thy gowne agayne, for thou hast lost nowe.[6]
FAN. Lo, Johñ[7] a Bonam, where is thy brayne?
Nowe put on, fole, thy cote agayne.
FOL. Gyue me my grote, for thou hast lost.

Here FOLY *maketh semblaunt to take money of* CRAFTY CONUEYAUNCE, *saynge to hym,*

Shyt thy purse, dawe, and do no cost.
FAN. Nowe hast thou not a prowde mocke and a starke?
CRA. CON. With yes, by the rode of Wodstocke Parke.
FAN. Nay, I tell the, he maketh no dowtes
To tourne a fole out of his clowtes.

he changes his mind. Folly explains that he is himself no fool, but can make fools of all men.

CRA. CON. And for a fole a man wolde hym take.
FOL. Nay, it is I that foles can make;
For be he cayser or be he kynge,
To felowshyp with Foly I can hym brynge.
FAN. Nay, wylte thou here nowe of his scoles,
And what maner of people he maketh foles?
CRA. CON. Ye, let vs here a worde or twayne.

He describes what manner of people he makes fools of:

FOL. Syr, of my maner I shall tell you the playne:
Fyrst I lay before them my bybyll

[1] C, Yet yes; Dyce, Yes, yes. [2] Rox., Yet yes.
[3] C, Dyce, regardes, voyes. Cf. l. 748: vous : lowce,
[4] Rox., spanysshe. [5] C, Conuaunce; Dyce, Conueyaunce.
[6] C, Dyce, for nowe thou hast lost; Dyce (*query in note*), for thou hast lost nowe, *for the rime?*
[7] Dyce, Johnn. *See note to line* 605.

And teche them howe they sholde syt ydyll
To pyke theyr fyngers all the day longe;
So in theyr eyre I synge them a songe
And make them so longe to muse
That some of them renneth strayght to the stuse;
To thefte and bryboury I make some fall,
And pyke a locke and clyme a wall;
And where I spy a nysot gay
That wyll syt ydyll all the day
And can not set herselfe to warke,
I kyndell in her suche a lyther sparke
That rubbed she must be on the gall
Bytwene the tappet[1] and the wall.

CRA. CON. What, horson! arte thou suche a one?

FAN. Nay, beyonde all other set hym alone.

CRA. CON. Hast thou ony more? let se, procede.

FOL. Ye, by God, Syr; for a nede,
I haue another maner of sorte
That I laugh at for my dysporte;
And those be they that come vp of nought,—
As some be not ferre[2] and yf it were well sought,—
Suche dawys, what soeuer they be,
That be set in auctorite;
Anone he waxyth so hy and prowde,
He frownyth fyersly, brymly browde;
The knaue wolde make it koy, and he cowde;
All that he dothe muste be alowde;
And, "This is not well done, Syr; take hede";
And maketh hym besy where is no nede;
He dawnsys so long, 'hey troly loly,'
That euery man lawghyth at his Foly.

CRA. CON. By the good Lorde, truthe he sayth.

FAN. Thynkyst thou not so, by thy fayth?

CRA. CON. Thynke I not so, quod he? ellys haue I shame;
For I knowe dyuerse that vseth the same.

FOL. But nowe, forsothe, man, it maketh no mater;
For they that wyll so bysely smater,

idle men he teaches to commit robbery,

idle women he inflames with lust;

also those who "come up of nought,"

clothed with brief authority,—

particularly one individual, who is now drunk with prosperity.

Folly's listeners recognize the portrait.

His early fall is anticipated.

[1] C, tap; Dyce, tappet (*form of expression as found in* Against Garnesche, l. 75, I. 128).
[2] C, ferce (*misprint*); Dyce, ferre.

So helpe me God, man, euer at the length
I make hym lese moche of theyr strength;
For with Foly so do I them lede
That Wyt he wantyth when he hath moste nede.
FAN. Forsothe, tell on; hast thou any mo[1]?
FOL. Yes, I shall tell you or I go
Of dyuerse mo that hauntyth my scolys.
CRA. CON. All men beware of suche folys!

Two others are continually bearing false tales to the ear of the sovereign, continues Folly.

FOL. There be two lyther, rude and ranke,
Symkyn Tytyuell and Pers Pykthanke;
Theys lythers I lerne them for to lere,
What he sayth and she sayth to lay good ere,
And tell to his sufferayne euery whyt;
And then he is moche made of for his wyt;[2]
And, be the mater yll more or lesse,
He wyll make it mykyll worse than it is;
But all that he dothe, and yf he reken well,
It is but Foly euery dell.

Another palpable hit!

FAN. Are not his wordys cursydly cowchyd?
CRA. CON. By God, there be some that be shroudly towchyd;
But, I say, let se and yf thou haue any more.
FOL. I haue an hole armory of suche haburdashe in store;
For there be other that Foly dothe vse,

Folly has many more disciples;

That folowe fonde fantasyes and Vertu refuse.
FAN. Nay, that is my parte that thou spekest of nowe.
FOL. So is all the remenaunt, I make God auowe;
For thou fourmest suche fantasyes in theyr mynde
That euery man almost groweth out of kynde.
CRA. CON. By the masse, I am glad that I came hyder
To here you two rutters dyspute togyder.
FAN. Nay, but Fansy must be eyther fyrst or last.
FOL. But whan Foly cometh, all is past.
FAN. I wote not whether it cometh of the or of me,
But all is Foly that I can se.
CRA. CON. Mary, Syr, ye may swere it on a boke.
FOL. Ye, tourne ouer the lefe, rede there, and loke
Howe frantyke Fansy fyrst of all
Maketh man and woman in Foly to fall.

[1] C, more; Dyce, mo. [2] C, whyt; Dyce, wyt.

CRA. CON. A, Syr, a, a! howe by that?
FAN. A peryllous thynge, to cast a cat
Vpon a naked man and yf she scrat.
FOL. So how, I say, the hare is squat!
For, frantyke Fansy, thou makyst men madde;
And I Foly bryngeth them to *qui fuit* gadde;
With *qui fuit*, brayne seke I haue them brought,
From *qui fuit aliquid* to shyre shakynge nought.
CRA. CON. Well argued and surely on bothe sydes;
But for the, Fansy, Magnyfycence abydes.
FAN. Why, shall I not haue Foly with me also?
CRA. CON. Yes, perde, man, whether that ye ryde or go;
Yet for his name we must fynde a slyght.[1]
FAN. By the masse, he shall hyght Consayte.
CRA. CON. Not a better name vnder the sonne;
With Magnyfycence thou shalte wonne.
FOL. God haue mercy, good godfather.
CRA. CON. Yet I wolde that ye had gone rather;
For as sone as you come in Magnyfycence syght,
All Mesure and good rule is gone quyte.
FAN. And shall we haue Lyberte to do what we wyll?
CRA. CON. Ryot at Lyberte russheth it out styll.
FOL. Ye, but tell me one thynge.
CRA. CON. What is that?
FOL. Who is mayster of the masshe fat?
FAN. Ye, for he hathe a full dry soule.
CRA. CON. Cockes armes! thou shalte kepe the brewhouse boule.
FOL. But may I drynke therof whylest that I stare?
CRA. CON. When Mesure is gone, what nedest thou spare?
Whan Mesure is gone, we may slee Care.
FOL. Nowe then goo we hens. Away the mare!
[*Exit* FANSY *and* FOLY.]

most of whom enter his school after a first course with Fancy.

Both Fancy and Folly are sorely needed at the palace.

Folly assumes the alias Conceit.

Being a "full dry soul," he stipulates for the place of master of the cellar.

[STAGE II. SCENE 19.] CRAFTY CONUEYAUNCE *alone in the place.*

CRA. CON. It is wonder to se the worlde aboute,
To se what Foly is vsed in euery place;

(*Rime royal.*)

Monologue of Crafty Conveyance.

[1] C, shyfte; Dyce, slyght (*cf.* slyght : consayte, *ll.* 677, 8 *and* 952, 3).

Foly hath a rome, I say, in euery route;
Next in the rank of mischief-makers to Fancy and Folly themselves. To put where he lyst, Foly hath fre chace;
Foly and Fansy all where euery man dothe face and brace;
Foly fotyth it properly, Fansy ledyth the dawnce,
And next come I after, Crafty Conueyaunce.

Who so to me gyueth good aduertence
Shall se many thyngys donne craftely:
By me conueyed is wanton insolence—
* * * * *[1]

He is a promoter of "privy kindness," Pryuy poyntmentys conueyed so properly,
(For many tymes moche kyndnesse is denyed
For drede, that we dare not ofte, lest we be spyed.)

and much other pretty ware, By me is conueyed mykyll praty ware,—
Somtyme, I say, behynde the dore for nede;
I haue an hoby can make larkys to dare;
I knyt togyther many a broken threde.
It is great almesse the hungre[2] to fede,
such as clothing the naked. To clothe the nakyd where is lackynge a smocke,—
Trymme at her tayle or a man can turne a socke,—

An imaginary dialogue. "What howe! be ye mery; was it not well conueyed?"
"As oft as ye lyst, so Honeste be sauyd;
"Alas, dere harte, loke that we be not perseyuyd!"[3]
Without crafte nothynge is well behauyd.
"Though I shewe you curtesy, say not that I craued;[4]
"Yet conuey it craftely, and hardely spare not for me,"—
So that there knowe no man but I and she.

By his aid, also, petty thieves escape detection; Thefte also and pety brybery
Without me be full ofte aspyed;
My inwyt delynge there can no man dyscry.
Conuey it be crafte, lyft and lay asyde.
Full moche Flatery and Falsehode I hyde;
And by Crafty Conueyaunce I wyll, and I can,
Saue a stronge thefe and hange a trew[5] man.

[1] *Sense as well as rime shows that a line is missing here. See note to line* 552.
[2] C, hunger; Dyce, hungre.
[3] *Assonance-rime; see note to line* 535.
[4] C, craue; Dyce (*query in note*) craued *for the rime, unless something be wanting.* [5] Rox., trewe.

But some man wolde conuey, and can not skyll,
As malypert tauernars that checke with theyr betters;
Theyr Conueyaunce weltyth the worke all by Wyll;
And some wyll take vpon them to conterfet letters,
And therwithall conuey hymselfe into a payre of fetters;
And some wyll conuey by the pretence of Sadnesse,
Tyll all theyr Conueyaunce is turnyd into Madnesse.

but he has no patience with bunglers.

Crafty Conueyaunce is no chyldys game:
By Crafty Conueyaunce many one is brought vp of nought;
Crafty Conueyaunce can cloke hymselfe from shame,
For by Crafty Conueyaunce wonderful thynges are wrought;
By Conuayaunce Crafty I haue brought
Vnto Magnyfycence[1] a full vngracyous sorte,
For all hokes vnhappy to me haue resorte.

It is Crafty Conveyance who has brought together the crew now around Magnificence.

[STAGE III. DELUSION.]

[Scene 20.] *Here cometh in* Magnyfycence *with* Lyberte *and* Felycyte.

(*Rime royal.*)

Magn. Trust me, Lyberte, it greueth me ryght sore
To se you thus ruled and stande in suche awe.
Lyb. Syr, as by my wyll, it shall be so no more.
Fel. Yet Lyberte without rule is not worth a strawe.
Magn. Tushe! holde your peas; ye speke lyke a dawe;
Ye shall be occupyed, Welthe, at my Wyll.
Cra. Con. All that ye say, Syr, is Reason and Skyll.

Magnificence has set Liberty free from the control of Measure. Felicity protests in vain.

Magn. Mayster Suruayour, where haue ye ben so longe?
Remembre ye not how my Lyberte by Mesure ruled was?
Cra. Con. In good faythe, Syr, me semeth he had the more wronge.
Lyb. Mary, Syr, so dyd he excede and passe,
They droue me to lernynge lyke a dull asse.
Fel. It is good yet that Lyberte be ruled by Reason.
Magn. Tushe! holde your peas; ye speke out of season.

Crafty Conveyance approves.

Yourselfe shall be ruled by Lyberte and Largesse.
Fel. I am content so it in Measure be.
Lyb. Must Mesure, in the mares name, you furnysshe and dresse?

Magnificence decides to be ruled by Liberty and "Largess,"

[1] C, Magnyfyce; Dyce, Magnyfycence.

MAGN. Nay, nay; not so, my frende Felycyte.
CRA. CON. Not and your grace wolde be ruled by me.
LYB. Nay, he shall be ruled euen[1] as I lyst.
FEL. Yet it is good to beware of "had I wyst."

MAGN. Syr, by Lyberte and Largesse I wyll that ye shall
Be gouerned and gyded; wote ye what I say?
Mayster Suruayour, Largesse to me call.

and sends to fetch the latter.

CRA. CON. It shall be done.
MAGN. Ye, but byd hym come away
At ones, and let hym not tary all day.

Here goth out CRAFTY CONUAYAUNCE.

[STAGE III. SCENE 21.]

FEL. Yet it is good Wysdome to worke wysely by Welth.
LYB. Holde thy tonge, and thou loue thy helth.

Again Felicity remonstrates in vain.

MAGN. What! wyll ye waste wynde and prate thus in vayne?
Ye haue eten sauce, I trowe, at the Taylers Hall.
LYB. Be not to bolde, my frende; I counsell you, bere a brayne.
MAGN. And what so we say, holde you content withall.
FEL. Syr, yet without Sapyence your Substaunce may be smal;
For where is no Mesure, how may Worshyp endure?

[STAGE III. SCENE 22.]

Here cometh in FANSY.

FAN. Syr, I am here at your pleasure.[2]

Your grace sent for me, I wene; what is your wyll?

He is handed over to his two enemies,

MAGN. Come hyther, Largesse; take here Felycyte.
FAN. Why, wene you that I can kepe hym longe styll?
MAGN. To rule as ye lyst, lo, here is Lyberte.
LYB. I am here redy.
FAN. What! shall we
Haue Welth at our gydynge to rule as we lyst?
Then fare well Thryfte, by Hym that crosse kyst!

who are given free rein;

FEL. I truste your grace wyll be agreabyll
That I shall suffer none impechment

[1] C, rulede uen (*misprint*); Rox., Dyce, ruled euen.
[2] Rox., plesure

By theyr Demenaunce, nor loss repryuable.
MAGN. Syr, ye shall folowe myne Appetyte and Intent.
FEL. So it be by Mesure, I am ryght well content.
FAN. What! all by Mesure, good Syr, and none excesse?
LYB. Why, Welth hath made many a man braynlesse.

FEL. That was by the menys of to moche Lyberte.
MAGN. What! can ye agree thus and appose?
FEL. Syr, as I say, there was no faute in me.
LYB. Ye, of Jacke a Thrommys bybyll can ye make a glose.
FAN. Sore sayde, I tell you, and well to the purpose.
What sholde a man[1] do with you? loke you vnder kay[2]?
FEL. I say it is Foly to gyue all Welth away.

and his repeated warnings and pleas are disregarded and mocked.

LYB. Whether sholde Welth be rulyd by Lyberte,
Or Lyberte by Welth? let se, tell me that.
FEL. Syr, as me semeth, ye sholde be rulyd by me.
MAGN. What nede you with hym thus prate and chat?
FAN. Shewe vs your mynde then, howe to do and what.
MAGN. I say that I wyll ye haue hym in gydynge.
LYB. Mayster Felycyte, let be your chydynge;

And so as ye se it wyll be no better,
Take it in worthe suche as ye fynde.
FAN. What the deuyll, man, your name shalbe the greter;
For Welth without Largesse is all out of kynde.
LYB. And Welth is nought worthe yf Lyberte be behynde.
MAGN. Nowe holde ye content, for there is none other shyfte.
FEL. Then Waste must be welcome, and fare well Thryfte!

MAGN. Take of his Substaunce a sure inuentory,
And get thou[3] home togyther; for Lyberte shall byde
And wayte vpon me.
LYB. And yet for a memory,
Make indentures howe ye and I shal gyde.
FAN. I can do nothynge but he stonde besyde.
LYB. Syr, we can do nothynge the one without the other.
MAGN. Well, get you hens than and sende me some other.

The two new appointees are anxious to depart with their prize.

[1] C, mau (*misprint*); Rox., Dyce, man. [2] C, bay; Dyce, kay.
[3] Dyce (*query in note*), you? *possibly due to a contraction in the MS.*

Magnificence sends for Courtly Abusion.

FAN. Whom? Lusty Pleasure, or mery Consayte? 1452
MAGN. Nay, fyrst Lusty Pleasure is my desyre to haue;
And let the other another [time][1] awayte;
Howe be it, that fonde felowe is a mery knaue.
But loke that ye occupye the auctoryte that I you gaue. 1456
Here goeth out FELYCYTE, LYBERTE, *and* FANSY.

[STAGE III. SCENE 23.] MAGNYFYCENCE *alone in the place.*

MAGN.[2] For nowe, Syrs, I am lyke as a prynce sholde be;
I haue Welth at Wyll, Largesse and Lyberte. 1458

Monologue of Magnificence. He is at the height of his ambition, and above Fortune's perplexity.

Fortune to her lawys can not abandune me;
But I shall of Fortune rule the reyne.
I fere nothynge Fortunes perplexyte.
All Honour to me must nedys stowpe and lene. 1462
I synge of two partys without a mene.
I haue wynde and wether ouer all to sayle;
No stormy rage agaynst me can peruayle. 1465

He is peerless: no prince can be compared with him,—neither Alexander,

Alexander, of Macedony kynge,
That all the Oryent had in subieccyon,
Though al his conquestys were brought to rekenynge,
Myght seme ryght wel vnder my proteccyon 1469
To rayne, for all his marcyall affeccyon;
For I am prynce perlesse, prouyd of porte,
Bathyd with blysse, embracyd with comforte. 1472

nor Cyrus,

Syrus, that soleme syar of Babylon,
That Israell releysyd of theyr captyuyte,
For al his pompe, for all his ryall trone,
He may not be comparyd vnto me. 1476
I am the dyamounde dowtlesse of dygnyte.
Surely it is I that all may saue and spyll,
No man so hardy to worke agaynst my Wyll. 1479

Porsena,

Porcenya, the prowde prouoste of Turky lande,
That ratyd the Romaynes and made them yll rest,

nor Caesar,

Nor Cesar July, that no man myght withstande,

[1] C, Dyce, another; Dyce (*query in note*), another time?
[2] C *gives this speech to* Fansy; Dyce, Magn.

Were neuer halfe so rychely as I am drest.
No, that I assure you; loke who was the best:
I reyne in my robys, I rule as me lyst,
I dryue downe these[1] dastardys with a dynt of my fyste.

Of Cato the counte, acountyd the cane, 1487 Cato,
Daryus, the doughty cheftayn of Perse,— nor Darius,
I set not by the prowdest of them a prane,
Ne by non other that any man can rehersse.
I folowe in Felycyte without reuersse;[2]
I drede no daunger; I dawnce all in delyte:
My name is Magnyfycence, man most of myght.

Hercules the herdy, with his stobburne clobbyd mase, Hercules,
That made Cerberus to cache, the cur dogge of hell,
And Thesius, that[3] prowde was Pluto to face,— nor Theseus,
It wolde not become them with me for to mell;
For of all barones bolde I bere the bell;
Of all doughty I an doughtyest duke as I deme;
To me all prynces to lowte man beseme.[4]

Cherlemayne, that mantenyd the nobles of Fraunce, Charlemagne,
Arthur of Albyan, for all his brymme berde, Arthur,
Nor Basyan the bolde, for all his brybaunce, Bassianus,
Nor Alerycus, that rulyd the Gothyaunce by swerd, nor Alaric,
Nor no man on molde, can make me aferd.
What man is so maysyd with me that dare mete,
I shall flappe hym as a fole to fall at my fete.

Galba, whom his galantys garde for agaspe, Galba,
Nor Nero, that nother set by God nor man, Nero,
Nor Vaspasyan, that bare in his nose a waspe, Vespasian,
Nor Hanyball, agayne Rome gates that ranne, Hannibal,
Nor yet Cypyo,[5] that noble Cartage wanne, nor Scipio.
Nor none so hardy of them with me that durste crake,
But I shall frounce them on the foretop and gar them to quake.

[1] C, thse (*misprint*); Dyce, these.
[2] C, reuesse (*misprint*); Dyce, reuersse.
[3] C, the; Dyce, that.
[4] C, man be sene; Dyce (*query in note*) *for the rime*, beseme? Am., may beseme?
[5] C, typyo; Dyce, Cypyo.

[Stage III. Scene 24.] *Here cometh in* Courtly Abusyon, *doynge reuerence and courtesy.*

(*Couplets.*)

Cou. Ab. At your commaundement, Syr, wyth all dew reuerence.

Magn. Welcom, Pleasure, to our Magnyfycence.

Courtly Abusion exhibits all his fascinations.

Cou. Ab. Plesyth it your grace to shewe what I do shall?

Magn. Let vs here of your Pleasure, to passe the tyme withall.

Cou. Ab. Syr, then, with the fauour of your benynge sufferaunce,
To shewe you my mynde myselfe I wyll auaunce,
If it lyke your grace to take it in degre.

Magn. Yes, Syr; so good man in you I se,
And in your delynge so good assuraunce,
That we delyte gretly in your Dalyaunce.

Cou. Ab. A, Syr, your grace me dothe extole and rayse;
And ferre beyond my merytys ye me commende and prayse:
Howe be it, I wolde be ryght gladde, I you assure,
Any thynge to do that myght be to your Pleasure.

He charms Magnificence with his polished language

Magn. As I be saued, with Pleasure I am supprysyd
Of your langage, it is so well deuysed;
Pullyshyd and fresshe is your ornacy.

and his flattery.

Cou. Ab. A, I wolde to God that I were halfe so crafty,
Or in electe vtteraunce halfe so eloquent,
As that I myght your noble grace content!

Magn. Truste me, with you I am hyghly pleasyd;
For in my fauour I haue you feffyd and seasyd.
He is not lyuynge your maners can amend;
Mary, your speche is as pleasant as though it were pend,
To here your comon, it is my hygh comforte,
Poynt deuyse, all Pleasure is your porte.

Cou. Ab. Syr, I am the better of your noble reporte;
But, of your Pacyence vnder the supporte,
If it wolde lyke you to here my pore mynde,[1]—

Magn. Speke, I beseche the; leue nothynge behynde.

He urges him to fall in acquaintance with every new fashion,

Cou. Ab. So as ye be a prynce of great myght,
It is semynge your Pleasure ye delyte,
And to aqueynte you with Carnall Delectacyon;
And to fall in aquayntaunce with euery newe facyon,

[1] C, myude (*misprint*); Rox., Dyce mynde.

And quyckely your appetytes to sharpe and adresse;
To fasten your Fansy vpon a fayre maystresse — and especially to take a mistress.
That quyckly is enuyued with rudyes of the rose,
Inpurtured with fetures after your purpose, 1552
The streynes of her vaynes as asure inde blewe,
Enbudded with beautye and colour fresshe of hewe,
As lyly whyte to loke vpon her leyre,[1]
Her eyen relucent as carbuncle so clere, 1556
Her mouthe enbawmyd, dylectable, and mery,
Her lusty lyppes ruddy as the chery,—
Howe lyke you? Ye lacke, Syr, suche a lusty lasse.
MAGN. A, that were a baby to brace and to basse! 1560 His glowing description kindles the imagination of the prince
I wolde I had, by Hym that hell dyd harowe,
With me in kepynge suche a Phylyp Sparowe.
I wolde hauke whylest my hede dyd warke,
So I myght hobby for suche a lusty larke. 1564
These wordes, in myne eyre they be so lustely spoken,
That on suche a female my flesshe wolde be wroken.
They towche me so thorowly and tykyll my Consayte,
That weryed I wolde be on suche a bayte. 1568
A, Cockes armes! where myght suche one be founde? who is inexperienced in such matters.
COU. AB. Wyll ye spende ony money?
MAGN. Ye, a thousande pounde.
COU. AB. Nay, nay; for lesse I waraunt you to be sped,
And brought home and layde in your bed. 1572
MAGN. Wolde money, trowest thou, make suche one to the call? Courtly Abusion airs his cynicism: every woman has her price.
COU. AB. Money maketh marchauntes, I tell you, over all.
MAGN. Why, wyl a maystres be wonne for money and for golde?
COU. AB. Why, was not for money Troy bothe bought and solde? 1576
Full many a stronge cyte and towne hath ben wonne
By the meanes of money without ony gonne.
A maystres, I tell you, is but a small thynge;
A goodly rybon, or a golde rynge, 1580
May wynne with a sawte the fortresse of the holde;
But one thynge I warne you, prece forth and be bolde.
MAGN. Ye, but some be full koy and passynge harde harted.

[1] C, heyre; Dyce, leyre.

Cou. Ab. But blessyd be our Lorde, they wyll be sone conuerted.

Magn. Why, wyll they then be intreted, the most and the lest?

Cou. Ab. Ye, for *omnis mulier meretrix si celari potest.*

Magn. A, I haue spyed ye can moche broken sorowe.

Cou. Ab. I coude holde you with suche talke hens tyll to morowe;

But yf it lyke your grace more at large
Me to permyt my mynde to dyscharge,

Continuing his counsel,

I wolde yet shewe you further of my Consayte.

Magn. Let se what ye say; shewe it strayte.

Cou. Ab. Wysely let these wordes in your mynde be wayed:

he confirms Magnificence in choosing wilfulness as his guide, and forsaking reason.

By wayward Wylfulnes let eche thynge be conuayed;
What so euer ye do, folowe your owne Wyll;
Be it Reason or none, it shall not gretely skyll;
Be it ryght or wronge, by the aduyse of me,
Take your Pleasure and vse free Lyberte;
And yf you se ony thynge agaynst your mynde,
Then some occacyon or[1] quarell ye must fynde,
And frowne it and face it, as thoughe ye wolde fyght;
Frete yourselfe for anger and for dyspyte,
Here no man what so euer they say,
But do as ye lyst and take your owne way.

Magn. Thy wordes and my mynde odly well accorde.

Cou. Ab. What sholde ye do elles? are not you a lorde?
Let your Lust and Lykynge stande for a lawe.
Be wrastynge and wrythynge, and away drawe.

How to treat a man who displeases him.

And ye se a man that with hym ye be not pleased,
And that your mynde can not well be eased,—
As yf a man fortune to touche you on the quyke,—
Then feyne yourselfe dyseased, and make yourselfe seke.
To styre vp your stomake you must you forge,
Call for a candell[2] and cast vp your gorge,
With "Cockes armes! rest shall I none haue
"Tyll I be reuenged on that horson knaue.
"A, howe my stomake wambleth! I am all in a swete.

[1] C, accacyon or; Dyce, occacyon of. Occacyon (*see N.E.D.*) *is here used to mean "opportunity of attacking or of fault-finding."*

[2] C, Dyce, candell; Dyce (*query in note*), caudell? Gent. Mag. *prefers text;* Dyce (*in later note,* II. 487) *also decides to retain reading of text.*

"Is there no horson that knaue that wyll bete?"

MAGN. By Cockes woundes, a wonder felowe thou arte.
For ofte tymes suche a wamblynge goth ouer my harte;
Yet I am not harte seke, but that me lyst.
For myrth I haue hym coryed, beten, and blyst,
Hym that I loued not, and made hym to loute;
I am forthwith as hole as a troute.
For suche Abusyon I vse nowe and than.

COU. AB. It is none Abusyon, Syr, in a noble man;
It is a pryncely Pleasure and a lordly mynde.
Suche lustes at large may not be lefte behynde.

Magnificence is an apt scholar.

[STAGE III. SCENE 25.] *Here cometh in* CLOKED COLUSYON *with* MESURE.

CLO. COL. [*aside to* MEASURE] Stande styll here, and ye shall se
That for your sake I wyll fall on my kne.

[MEASURE *waits at the door.*]

COU. AB. Syr, Sober Sadnesse cometh; wherfore it be?
MAGN. Stande vp, Syr; ye are welcom to me.
CLO. COL. Please it your grace at the contemplacyon
Of my pore instance and supplycacyon,
Tenderly to consyder in your aduertence,—
Of our blessyd Lorde, Syr, at the reuerence,—
Remembre the good seruyce that Mesure hath you done,
And that ye wyll not cast hym away so sone.

Cloaked Collusion has pretended to Measure to be his friend and has promised to intercede for him;

MAGN. My frende, as touchynge to this your mocyon,
I may say to you I haue but small deuocyon;
Howe be it, at your[1] instaunce I wyll the rather
Do as moche as for myne owne father.

CLO. COL. Nay, Syr; that affeccyon ought to be reserued,
For of your grace I haue it nought deserued;
But yf it lyke you that I myght rowne in your eyre,
To shewe you my mynde I wolde haue the lesse fere.

MAGN. Stande a lytell abacke, Syr, and let hym come hyder.

COU. AB. With a good wyll, Syr; God spede you bothe togyder.

CLO. COL. [*aside to* MAGNYFYCENCE] Syr, so it is: this man is here by,

but he proceeds to betray him by telling

[1] C, yonr (*misprint*); Rox., Dyce, your.

Magnificence "in his ear" that Measure is unmeet for him.

That for hym to labour he hath prayde me hartely;
Notwithstandynge[1] to you be it sayde,
To trust in me he is but dyssayued;[2]
For, so helpe me God, for you he is not mete;
(I speke the softlyer because he sholde not wete).
MAGN. Come hyder, Pleasure; you shall here myne entent.
Mesure, ye knowe wel, with hym I can not be content;
And surely, as I am nowe aduysed,
I wyll haue hym rehayted and dyspysed.
Howe say ye, Syrs? herein what is best?
COU. AB. By myne aduyse, with you in fayth he shall not rest.
CLO. COL. Yet, Syr, reserued your better aduysement,
It were better he spake with you or he wente,
That he knowe not but that I haue supplyed
All that I can his matter for to spede.

He confesses to Magnificence that he is working only to secure a bribe.

MAGN. Nowe by your trouthe, gaue he you not a brybe?
CLO. COL. Yes, with his hande I made hym to subscrybe
A byll of recorde for an annuall rente.
COU. AB. But for all that he is lyke to haue a glent.
CLO. COL. Ye, by my trouthe, I shall waraunt you for me,
And he go to the deuyll,[3] (so that I may haue my fee,)
What care I?

Magnificence admires his cleverness, and agrees to further the deception.

MAGN. By the masse, well sayd.
COU. AB. What force ye, so that he[4] be payde?
CLO. COL. But yet, lo, I wolde, or that he wente,
Lest that he thought that his money were euyll spente,
That ye[5] wolde loke on hym, thoughe it were not longe.
MAGN. Well cannest thou helpe a preest to synge a songe.
CLO. COL. So it is all the maner nowe a dayes
For to vse suche haftynge and crafty wayes.
COU. AB. He telleth you trouth, Syr, as I you ensure.
MAGN. Well, for thy sake the better I may endure
That he come hyder, and to gyue hym a loke
That he[6] shall lyke the worse all this woke.
CLO. COL. I care not howe sone he be refused,
So that I may craftely be excused.

[1] C, Notwithstanyynge (*misprint*); Dyce, Notwithstandynge.
[2] *Assonance-rime; see note to line* 535.
[3] C, deull (*misprint*); Dyce, deuyll.
[4] C, he; Dyce, ye; *but the speaker addresses* MAGNYFYCENCE.
[5] C, he; Dyce, ye.
[6] C, Tha. the (*misprint*); Dyce, That he.

Cou. Ab. Where is he?
Clo. Col. Mary, I made hym abyde,
Whylest I came to you, a lytell here besyde.
Magn. Well, call hym, and let vs here hym reason;
And we wyll be comonynge in the mene season.
Cou. Ab. This is a wyse man, Syr, where so euer ye hym had.
Magn. An honest person, I tell you, and a sad.
Cou. Ab. He can full craftely this matter brynge aboute.
Magn. Whylest I haue hym, I nede nothynge doute.

Hic introducat Colusion Mesure, Magnyfycence *aspectante*[1] *uultu elatissimo.*

Clo. Col. By the masse, I haue done that I can,
And more than euer I dyd for ony man;
I trowe ye herde yourselfe what I sayd.
Meas. Nay, indede, but I sawe howe ye prayed,
And made instance for me be lykelyhod.
Clo. Col. Nay, I tell you, I am not wonte to fode
Them that dare put theyr truste in me;
And thereof ye shall a larger profe se.
Meas. Syr, God rewarde you as ye haue deserued;
But thynke you with Magnyfycence I shal be reserued?
Clo. Col. By my trouth, I can not tell you that;
But and I were as ye, I wolde not set a gnat
By Magnyfycence nor yet none of his;
For go when ye shall, of you shall he mysse.
Meas. Syr, as ye say.
Clo. Col. Nay, come on with me.
Yet ones agayne I shall fall on my kne
For your sake, what so euer befall;
I set not a flye and all go to all.
Meas. The Holy Goost be with your grace.
Clo. Col. Syr, I beseche you let Pety haue some place
In your brest towardes this gentylman.
Magn. I was your good lorde tyll that ye beganne
So masterfully vpon you for to take
With my seruauntys,[2] and suche maystryes gan make,
That holly my mynde with you is myscontente;

Cloaked Collusion brings Measure forward,

now much humbler in spirit than formerly.

[1] C, aspectante (*the final* e *very small, and inserted above the* t; *but not* aspectant, *as Dyce implies*); Rox., aspectant.
[2] C, sernauntys (*misprint*); Rox., Dyce, seruauntys.

Wherfore I wyll that ye be resydent
With me no longer.
CLO. CLO. Say somwhat nowe, let se,
For your selfe.[1]

But Magnificence will not suffer him to speak,

MEAS. Syr, yf I myght permytted be, 1720
I wolde to you say a worde or twayne.
MAGN. What! woldest thou, lurden, with me brawle agayne?
Haue hym hens, I say, out of my syght!
That day I se hym I shall be worse all nyght. 1724

Here MESURE *goth out of the place* [*with* COURTLY ABUSYON.]

and dismisses him insultingly, his departure being hastened by Courtly Abusion,

COU. AB. Hens, thou haynyarde! out of the dores fast!

[STAGE III. SCENE 26.]

MAGN. Alas! my stomake[2] fareth as it wolde cast. 1726
CLO. COL. Abyde, Syr, abyde; let me holde your hede.

Magnificence shows his displeasure correctly,

MAGN. A bolle or a basyn, I say, for Goddes brede! 1728
A, my hede! but is the horson gone?
God gyue hym a myscheffe! Nay, nowe let me alone.

in the new fashion just learned from Courtly Abusion.

CLO. COL. A good dryfte, Syr; a praty fete;
By the good Lorde, yet your temples bete. 1732

Cloaked Collusion compliments him

MAGN. Nay, so God me helpe, it was no grete vexacyon;
For I am panged ofte tymes of this same facyon.
CLO. COL. Cockes armes! howe Pleasure plucked hym forth!
MAGN. Ye, walke he must; it was no better worth. 1736
CLO. COL. Syr, nowe me thynke your harte is well eased.
MAGN. Nowe Measure is gone, I am the better pleased.
CLO. COL. So to be ruled by Measure, it is a payne.
MAGN. Mary, I wene he wolde not be glad to come agayne.

and approves the dismissal of Measure,

CLO. COL. So I wote not what he sholde do here. 1741
Where mennes belyes is mesured, there is no chere;
For I here but fewe men that gyue ony prayse
Vnto Measure, I say, nowe a days. 1744
MAGN. Measure? tut! what the deuyll of hell!
Scantly one with Measure that wyll dwell.

who is unfashionable nowadays.

CLO. COL. Not amonge noble men, as the worlde gothe.
It is no wonder, therfore, thoughe ye be wrothe 1748

[1] Dyce (*query in note*), *for the rime*, for your selfe, let se?—*unless* for your selfe *was intended to form the commencement of the next verse; the above text follows the latter suggestion.*
[2] Rox., stomacke.

With Mesure. Where as all Noblenes is, there I haue past:
They catche that catche may, kepe and holde fast,
Out of all Measure themselfe to enryche;
No force what thoughe his neyghbour dye in a dyche.
With pollynge and pluckynge out of all Measure,
Thus must ye stuffe and store your treasure.
MAGN. Yet somtyme, parde, I must vse Largesse.
CLO. COL. Ye, mary, somtyme,—in a messe of vergesse,
As in a tryfyll or in a thynge of nought,
As gyuynge a thynge that ye neuer bought.
It is the gyse nowe, I say, ouer all,—
Largesse in wordes,—for rewardes are but small;
To make fayre promyse, what are ye the worse?
Let me haue the rule of your purse.

His advice is that Magnificence put all his trust in two or three favourites.

MAGN. I haue taken it to Largesse and Lyberte.
CLO. COL. Than is it done as it sholde be;
But vse your Largesse by the aduyse of me,
And I shall waraunt you Welth and Lyberte.
MAGN. Say on; me thynke your reasons be profounde.
CLO. COL. Syr, of my counsayle this shall be the grounde:
To chose out ii., iii., of suche as you loue best,
And let all your Fansyes vpon them rest.
Spare for no cost to gyue them pounde and peny;
Better to make iii. ryche than for to make many.
Gyue them more than ynoughe, and let them not lacke;
And as for all other, let them trusse and packe.
Plucke from an hundred, and gyue it to thre;
Let neyther patent scape them nor fee;
And where soeuer you wyll fall to a rekenynge,
Those thre wyll be redy euen at your bekenynge;
For them[1] shall you haue at Lyberte to lowte.
Let them haue all, and the other go without;
Thus Ioy without Mesure you shall haue.
MAGN. Thou sayst truthe, by the harte that God me gaue!

Magnificence is convinced, and selects him with "Pleasure" and "Surveyance," to be supervisers of Liberty and "Largess."

For as thou sayst, ryght so shall it be;
And here I make the vpon Lyberte
To be superuysour, and on Largesse also;
For as thou wylte, so shall the game go;

[1] C, then; Dyce (*query in note*), them?

For in Pleasure and Surueyaunce and also in the,
I haue set my hole Felycyte,
And suche as you wyll shall lacke no promocyon.

Cloaked Collusion departs to take office.

CLO. COL. Syr, syth that in me ye haue suche deuocyon,
Commyttynge to me and to my felowes twayne
Your Welthe and Felycyte, I trust we shall optayne
To do you seruyce after your Appetyte.

MAGN. In faythe, and your seruyce ryght well shall I acquyte;
And therfore hye you hens, and take this ouersyght.

CLO. COL. Nowe Jesu preserue you, Syr, prynce most of myght!

Here goth CLOKED COLUSYON *awaye, and leueth* MAGNYFYCENCE *alone in the place.*

[STAGE III. SCENE 27.]

Rime royal.) Monologue: Magnificence is stuffed with high thoughts and unaware of the impending doom.

MAGN. Thus, I say, I am enuyronned with Solace;
I drede no dyntes of fatall Desteny.
Well were that lady myght stande in my grace,
Me to enbrace and loue moost specyally;
A Lorde! so I wolde halse her hartely!
So I wolde clepe her! so I wolde kys her swete!

[STAGE III. SCENE 28.] *Here cometh in* FOLY.

FOL. Mary, Cryst graunt ye catche no colde on your fete!

(Leash.)

MAGN. Who is this?

Folly enters to keep the dupe amused with his strings of nonsense rimes,

FOL. Consayte, Syr, your owne man.
MAGN. What tydynges with you, Syr? I befole thy brayne pan.
FOL. By our lakyn, Syr, I haue ben a howkyng[1] for the wylde swan.
My hawke is rammysshe, and it happed that she ran,—

Flewe I sholde say,—in to an olde barne
To reche at a rat,—I coude not her warne;
She pynched her pynyon, by God! and catched harme.
It was a ronner; nay, fole, I warant her blode warme.[2]

MAGN. A, Syr, thy iarfawcon and thou be hanged togyder!
FOL. And, Syr, as I was comynge to you hyder,

[1] Dyce, hawkyng.
[2] barne : warne : harme : warme, *assonance for rime; see note to line* 728.

I saw a fox sucke on a kowes ydder;
And with a lyme rodde I toke them bothe togyder.
I trowe it be a frost, for the way is slydder;
Se, for God auowe, for colde as I chydder.

MAGN. Thy wordes hange togyder as fethers in the wynde.
FOL. A, Syr, tolde I not you howe[1] I dyd fynde
A knaue and a carle, and all of one kynde?
I sawe a wethercocke wagge with the wynde!
Grete meruayle I had, and mused in my mynde.
The houndes ranne before, and the hare behynde.
I sawe a losell lede a lurden, and they were bothe blynde.
I sawe a sowter go to supper, or euer he had dynde.

each more meaningless and extravagant than the last.

MAGN. By Cockes harte, thou arte a fyne mery knaue.
FOL. [*aside*] I make God auowe ye wyll none other men haue.[2]
MAGN. What sayst thou?
FOL. Mary, I pray God your mastershyp to saue.
I shall gyue you a gaude of a goslynge that I gaue,
The gander and the gose bothe grasynge on one graue;
Than Rowlande the reue ran, and I began to raue,
And with a brystell of a bore his berde dyd I shaue.

MAGN. If euer I herde syke another, God gyue me shame.
FOL. Sym Sadylgose was my syer, and Dawcocke my dame.
I coude, and I lyst, garre you laughe at a game:
Howe a wodcocke wrastled with a larke that was lame:
The bytter sayd boldly that they were to blame;
The feldfare wolde haue fydled, and it wolde not frame;
The crane and the curlewe therat gan to grame;
The snyte snyueled in the snowte and smyled at the game.

MAGN. Cockes bones! herde ye euer suche another?
FOL. Se, Syr, I beseche you, Largesse my brother.

(*Couplets.*)

[STAGE III. SCENE 29.] *Here* FANSY *cometh in.*

MAGN. What tydynges with you, Syr, that you loke so sad?
FAN. When ye knowe that I knowe, ye wyll not be glad.
FOL. What, Brother Braynsyke! how farest thou?
MAGN. Ye, let be thy iapes, and tell me howe

Fancy enters with a mournful face,

[1] Rox., not howe.
[2] Rox., other haue; Dyce (*query in note*), other man haue?

The case requyreth.
FAN. Alasse, alasse, an heuy metynge!
I wolde tell you and yf I myght for wepynge.[1]
and Folly departs in haste. FOL. What! is all your Myrthe nowe tourned to Sorowe?
Fare well tyll sone, adue tyll to morowe.
Here goth FOLY *away.*

The truth comes out: "Sadness" and his companions,

[STAGE III. SCENE 30.]

MAGN. I pray the, Largesse, let be thy sobbynge.
whose true names are now revealed, FAN. Alasse, Syr, ye are vndone with stelynge and robbynge!
Ye sent vs a superuysour for to take hede;
Take hede of your selfe, for nowe ye haue nede.
MAGN. What! hath Sadnesse begyled me so?
FAN. Nay, madnesse hath begyled you and many mo;
For Lyberte is gone, and also Felycyte.
MAGN. Gone? alasse, ye haue vndone me!
FAN. Nay, he that ye sent vs, Clokyd Colusyon,
And your payntyd Pleasure, Courtly Abusyon,
And your demenour with Counterfet Countenaunce,
And your Suruayour,[2] Crafty Conueyaunce,
have made away with their charge Felicity. Or euer we were ware, brought vs in Aduersyte,
And had robbyd you quyte from all Felycyte.
MAGN. Why, is this the Largesse that I haue vsyd?
All the deception practised is now laid bare; FAN. Nay, it was your Fondnesse that ye haue vsyd.
MAGN. And is this the credence that I gaue to the letter?
FAN. Why, coulde not your Wyt serue you no better?
MAGN. Why, who wolde haue thought in you suche gyle!
FAN. What? yes, by the rode, Syr; it was I all this whyle
That you trustyd, and Fansy is my name;
And Foly, my broder, that made you moche game.
Here cometh in ADUERSYTE.
and Fansy also flees as Adversity enters. MAGN. Alas, who[3] is yonder, that grymly lokys?
FAN. Adewe, for I wyll not come in his clokys.
[*Exit* FANSY.]

[1] *An assonance rime; see note to line* 728. *Or read* gretynge?
[2] C, superuysour; Dyce, suruayour, *by comparison with lines* 1398, 643, 1785, *etc.*
[3] C, why; Dyce, who.

[STAGE IV. OVERTHROW.]

[Scene 31.]

MAGN. Lorde! so my flesshe trymblyth nowe for drede! 1875 (*Couplets.*)
Here MAGNYFYCENCE *is beten downe and spoylyd from all his goodys and rayment.*

ADUERSYTE. I am Aduersyte, that for thy mysdede — Monologue of Adversity.
From God am sent to quyte the thy mede.
Vyle velyarde, thou must not nowe my dynt withstande;
Thou must not abyde the dynt of my hande.
Ly there, losell, for all thy pompe and pryde; 1880
Thy Pleasure now with Payne and trouble shalbe tryde.
The Stroke of God, Aduersyte, I hyght; — Adversity declares that he is the Stroke of
I plucke[1] downe kynge, prynce, lorde, and knyght; — God, sent to humble the proud,—
I rushe at them rughly and make them ly full lowe; 1884
And in theyr moste truste I make them ouerthrowe.
Thys losyll[2] was a lorde and lyuyd at his lust; — such men as Magnificence once was,—
And nowe lyke a lurden he lyeth in the duste.
He knewe not hymselfe, his harte was so hye; 1888
Nowe is there no man that wyll set by hym a flye.
He was wonte to boste, brage, and to brace;
Nowe dare he not for shame loke one in the face.
All worldly Welth for hym to lytell was; 1892
Nowe hath he ryght nought, naked as an asse.
Somtyme without Measure he trusted in golde;
And now without Measure he shal haue hunger and colde.
Lo, Syrs, thus I handell them all 1896 — and to punish all who follow their fancies and fall into folly.
That folowe theyr Fansyes in Foly to fall;
Man or woman, of what estate they be,
I counsayle them beware of Aduersyte.
Of sorowfull seruauntes I haue many scores: 1900
I vysyte them somtyme with blaynes and with sores; — Among his punishments are plagues and diseases,
With botches and carbuckyls in care I them knyt;
With the gowte I make them to grone where they syt;
Some I make lyppers and lazars full horse; 1904
And from that they loue best some I deuorse; — bereavement,
Some with the marmoll to halte I them make;
And some to cry out of the bone ake;

[1] *The two printed copies differ here:* C, plucke; B. M., *with* Rox. *and* Dyce, pluke. *Compare notes to lines* 633 *and* 2014.
[2] Rox., losell.

And some I vysyte with brennynge of fyre; 1908
the penalties of the law, Of some I wrynge of the necke lyke a wyre;
And some I make in a rope to totter and walter;
And some for to hange themselfe in an halter;
war and violence. And some I vysyte with[1] batayle, warre, and murther, 1912
And make eche man to sle other;
To drowne or to sle themselfe with a knyfe,—
And all is for theyr vngracyous lyfe.
Sometimes where there is no offence, he strikes to prove men's patience. Yet somtyme I stryke where is none offence, 1916
Bycause I wolde proue men of theyr pacyence.
But nowe a dayes to stryke I haue grete cause,
Lydderyns so lytell set by Goddes[2] lawes.
Parents are often punished in their children, Faders and moders that be neclygent, 1920
And suffre theyr chyldren to haue theyr entent,
To gyde them vertuously that wyll not remembre,
Them or theyr chyldren ofte tymes I dysmembre;
and children in their parents. Theyr chyldren, bycause that they haue no mekenesse, 1924
I vysyte theyr faders and moders with sekenesse;
And yf I se therby they wyll not amende,
Then Myschefe sodaynly I them sende;
For there is nothynge that more dyspleaseth God 1928
Than from theyr chyldren to spare the rod
Of correccyon, but let them haue theyr Wyll.
Some I make lame, and some I do kyll,
And some[3] I stryke with a franesy; 1932
Of some of theyr chyldren I stryke out the eye;
And where the fader by Wysdom Worshyp hath wonne,
I sende ofte tymes a fole to his sonne.
Wherfore of Aduersyte loke ye be ware; 1936
For when I come, comyth Sorowe and Care;
Lords who do not rule by measure For I stryke lordys of realmes and landys
That rule not by Mesure that they haue in theyr handys,
That sadly rule not theyr howsholde men. 1940
are noted by the recording pen of Adversity. I am Goddys Preposytour; I prynt them with a pen;
Because of theyr neglygence and of theyr wanton vagys,
I vysyte them and stryke them with many sore plagys.
He appeals to the audi- To take, Syrs, example of that I you tell, 1944

[1] C, vysyte to; Dyce (*query in note*) vysyte with, *as in lines* 1901, 1908; Am., ynsyte to. [2] C, godddes (*misprint*); Rox., Dyce, goddes.
[3] C, syme (*misprint*); Dyce, some.

And beware of Aduersyte by my counsell,
Take hede of this caytyfe that lyeth here on grounde;
Beholde howe Fortune on[1] hym hath frounde.
For though we shewe you this in game and play,
Yet it proueth eyrnest, ye may se, euery day.
For nowe wyll I from this caytyfe go,
And take Myscheffe and vengeaunce of other mo
That hath deseruyd it as well as he.
Howe, where art thou? come hether, Pouerte;
Take this caytyfe to thy lore.

ence to take heed by the example of Magnificence,

and then hands the wretched caitiff over to Poverty.

[*Exit* ADUERSYTE.]

[STAGE IV. SCENE 32.] *Here cometh in* POUERTE.

POUERTE. A, my bonys ake! my lymmys be sore;
Allasse, I haue the cyatyca full euyll in my hyppe!
Allasse, where is youth that was wont for to skyppe?
I am lowsy and vnlykynge and full of scurffe;
My colour is tawny, colouryd as a turffe.
I am Pouerte, that all men doth hate.
I am baytyd with doggys at euery mannys gate;
I am raggyd and rent, as ye may se;
Full fewe but they haue enuy at me.
Nowe must I this carcasse lyft vp;
He dynyd with Delyte, with Pouerte he must sup.
Ryse vp, Syr, and welcom vnto me.

Poverty hobbles in, diseased

and ragged,

and lifts Magnificence upon a couch.

Hic accedat ad leuandum MAGNYFYCENCE, *et locabit eum super locum stratum.*

MAGN. Alasse, where is nowe my golde and fe?
Alasse, I say, where to am I brought?
Alasse, alasse, alasse! I dye for thought.

Magnificence breaks into lamentations;

POU. Syr, all this wolde haue bene thought on before;
He woteth not what Welth is that neuer was sore.

MAGN. Fy, fy, that euer I sholde be brought in this snare!
I wenyd ones neuer to haue knowen of Care.

POU. Lo, suche is this worlde! I fynde it wryt,
In Welth to beware; and that is Wyt.

MAGN. In Welth to beware yf I had had grace,
Neuer had I bene brought in this case.

POU. Nowe, syth it wyll no nother be,

[1] C, of; Dyce (*query in note*), on?

All that God sendeth, take it in gre;
For thoughe you were somtyme a noble estate,
Nowe must you lerne to begge at euery[1] mannes gate.
MAGN. Alasse that euer I sholde be so shamed!
Alasse that euer I Magnyfycence was named!
Alasse that euer I was so harde happed
In Mysery and Wretchydnesse thus to be lapped!
Alasse that I coude not myselfe no better gyde!
Alasse in my cradell that I had not dyde!

but Poverty rebukes him for his impious repining against the visitation of God,

POU. Ye, Syr, ye; leue all this rage,
And pray to God your sorowes to asswage.
It is Foly to grudge agaynst his vysytacyon.
With harte contryte make your supplycacyon
Vnto your Maker, that made bothe you and me;
And whan it pleaseth God, better may be.
MAGN. Alasse! I wote not what I sholde pray.
POU. Remembre[2] you better, Syr; beware what ye say,
For drede ye dysplease the hygh Deyte.
Put your Wyll to His wyll, for surely it is He
That may restore you agayne to Felycyte,
And brynge you agayne out of Aduersyte.
Therefore Pouerte loke pacyently ye take,
And remembre He suffered moche more for your sake;
Howe be it, of all synne He was innocent,
And ye haue deserued this punysshment.
MAGN. Alasse! with colde my lymmes shall be marde.
POU. Ye, Syr, nowe must ye lerne to lye harde,
That was wonte to lye on fetherbeddes of downe;

and tells him of the unaccustomed experiences he must now expect.

Nowe must your fete lye hyer than your crowne.
Where you were wonte to haue cawdels for your hede,
Nowe must you monche mamockes and lumpes of brede;
And where you had chaunges of ryche aray,
Nowe lap you in a couerlet, full fayne that you may;
And where that ye were pomped with what that ye wolde,
Nowe must ye suffre bothe hunger and colde.
With curteyns of sylke[3] ye were wonte to be drawe;

[1] C, enery (*misprint*); Rox., Dyce, euery.
[2] C, Remmbre (*misprint*); Dyce, Remembre.
[3] *The two printed copies differ here:* C, with curteyns of sylke; B. M., *with* Rox. *and* Dyce, with courtely sylkes. *Compare notes to lines* 633 *and* 1883.

Nowe must ye lerne to lye on the strawe.
Your skynne that was wrapped in shertes of Raynes—
Nowe must ye be storm ybeten[1] with showres and raynes.
Your hede that was wonte to be happed moost drowpy and drowsy—
Now shal ye be scabbed, scuruy, and lowsy.
MAGN. Fye on this worlde full of Trechery!
That euer Noblenesse sholde lyue thus wretchydly!
POU. Syr, remembre the tourne of Fortunes whele,
That wantonly can wynke, and wynche with her hele.
Nowe she wyll laughe; forthwith she wyll frowne;
Sodenly set vp and sodenly pluckyd downe;
She dawnsyth varyaunce with mutabylyte,
Nowe all in Welth, forthwith in Pouerte;
In her promyse there is no sykernesse;
All her Delyte is set in Doublenesse.
MAGN. Alas! of Fortune I may well complayne.
POU. Ye, Syr, yesterday wyll not be callyd agayne.
But yet, Syr, nowe in this case
Take it mekely, and thanke God of his grace;
For nowe go I wyll begge for you some mete.
It is Foly agaynst God for to plete.
I wyll walke nowe with my beggers baggys,
And happe you the whyles with these homly raggys.

Discedendo[2] *dicat ista uerba.*

A, howe my lymmys be lyther and lame!
Better it is to begge than to be hangyd with shame;
Yet many had leuer hangyd to be
Then to begge theyr mete for charyte.
They thynke it no shame to robbe and stele;
Yet were they better to begge, a great dele;
For by robbynge they rynne to *in manus tuas* quecke;
But beggynge is better medecyne for the necke.
Ye, mary, is it; ye, so mote I goo;
A Lorde God! howe the gowte wryngeth me by the too!

[*Exit* POUERTE.]

He must remember the wheel of Lady Fortune,

and thank God for his grace instead of complaining.

Then Poverty limps away to beg the wretch a little meat.

[1] C, stormy beten: Dyce (*query in note*), *perhaps* storm ybeten; Pollard (*text*), storm ybeten.
[2] C, Difidendo; Dyce, Discedendo.

[Stage IV. Scene 33.] *Here* Magnyfycence *dolorously maketh his mone.*

(*Rime royal.*) Monologue: Magnificence makes dolorous moan.

Magn. O feble Fortune, O doulfull Destyny!
O hatefull Happe, O carefull Cruelte!
O syghynge Sorowe, O thoughtfull Mysere!
O rydlesse Rewthe, O paynfull Pouerte!
O dolorous herte, O harde Aduersyte!
O odyous Dystresse, O dedly Payne and Woo!
For worldly Shame I wax bothe wanne and bloo.

Where is nowe my Welth and my noble estate?
Where is nowe my treasure, my landes, and my rent?
Where is nowe all my seruauntys that I had here a late?
Where is nowe my golde vpon them that I spent?
Where is nowe all my ryche abylement?
Where is nowe my kynne, my frendys, and my noble blood?
Where is nowe all my Pleasure and my worldly good?

(*Couplet.*)

Alasse my Foly! alasse my wanton Wyll!
I may no more speke tyll I haue wept my fyll.[1]

[Stage IV. Scene 34. *Enter* Lyberte.[2]]

(*Fourteen-line stanza, rime coulée.*)

Liberty enters with a ribald song,

Lyb. With ye, mary, Syrs, thus sholde it be:
I kyst her swete, and she kyssyd me;
I daunsed the darlynge on my kne;
I garde her gaspe, I garde her gle,
With daunce on the le, the le!
I bassed that baby with harte so free;
She is the bote of all my bale.
A, so! that syghe was farre fet!
To loue that louesome I wyll not let;
My harte is holly on her set;
I plucked her by the patlet;
At my deuyse I with her met;
My Fansy fayrly on her I set;
So merely syngeth the nyghtyngale!

[1] *A superfluous final couplet to the stanza; cf. lines* 2298, 9, *and the superfluous line,* 251.

[2] C *om. this direction; supplied by* Dyce.

In Lust[1] and Lykynge my name is Lyberte. (*Couplets.*)
I am desyred with hyghest and lowest degre.
I lyue as me lyst, I lepe out at large; and exults over his own popularity and importance:
Of erthely thynge I haue no care nor charge.
I am presydent of prynces; I prycke them with Pryde.[2]
What is he lyuynge that Lyberte wolde lacke?
A thousande pounde with Lyberte may holde no tacke.
At Lyberte a man may be bolde for to brake;
Welthe without Lyberte gothe all to wrake.
But yet, Syrs, hardely one thynge lerne of me:
I warne you beware of to moche Lyberte; but soliloquizes soberly on the ill effects of too much liberty.
For *totum in toto* is not worth an hawe,—
To hardy, or to moche, to free of the dawe,
To sober, to sad, to subtell, to wyse,
To mery, to mad, to gyglynge, to nyse,
To full of Fansyes, to lordly, to prowde,
To homly, to holy, to lewde, and to lowde,
To flatterynge, to smatterynge, to to out of harre,
To claterynge, to chaterynge, to shorte, and to farre,
To iettynge, to iaggynge, and to full of iapes,
To mockynge, to mowynge, to lyke a iackenapes,—
Thus *totum in toto* groweth vp, as ye may se,
By meanes of Madnesse and to moche Lyberte.
For I am a vertue yf I be well vsed,
And I am a vyce where I am abused.
MAGN. A, woo worthe the, Lyberte! nowe thou sayst full trewe; Hailed by Magnificence, he recognizes him with difficulty,
That I vsed the to moche sore may I rewe.
LYB. What! a very vengeaunce! I say, who is that?
What brothell, I say, is yonder bounde in a mat?
MAGN. I am Magnyfycence, that somtyme thy mayster was.
LYB. What! is the worlde thus come to pass?
Cockes armes, Syrs! wyll ye not se and points the obvious moral.
Howe he is vndone by the meanes of me?
For yf Measure had ruled Lyberte as he began,
This lurden that here lyeth had ben a noble man.
But he abused so his free Lyberte,

[1] Rox., luste.
[2] Dyce (*query in note*), *a line wanting to rime with this? But see note to line* 552.

That nowe he hath loste all his Felycyte;
The difference between liberality and present-day capricious prodigality.
Not thorowe Largesse of lyberall expence,
But by the way of Fansy-Insolence.
For Lyberalyte is most conuenyent[1]
A prynce to vse with all his hole intent,
Largely rewardynge them that haue deseruyd;
And so shall a noble man nobly be seruyd.
But nowe adayes as huksters they hucke and they stycke,
And pynche at the payment of a poddynge prycke;
A laudable Largesse, I tell you, for a lorde,
To prate for the patchynge of a pot sharde!
Spare for the spence of a noble that his honour myght saue,
And spende C. s̄.[2] for the pleasure of a knaue.
But so longe they[3] rekyn with theyr reasons amysse
That they lose theyr Lyberte and all that there is.

MAGN. Alasse that euer I occupyed suche Abusyon!

LYB. Ye, for nowe it hath brought the to confusyon;

The misuse of liberty conducts shortly to mischief,
For where I am occupyed and vsyd wylfully,
It can not contynew long prosperyously;
As euydently in retchlesse youth ye may se
Howe many come to Myschefe for to moche Lyberte;
And some in the worlde, theyr brayne is so ydyll
That they set theyr chyldren to rynne on the brydyll,
In youth to be wanton, and let them haue theyr Wyll,—
And they neuer thryue in theyr age, it shall not gretly skyll.
as appears by examples from every class.
Some fall to Foly them selfe for to spyll,
And some fall prechynge[4] at the Toure Hyll;
Some hath so moche Lyberte of one thynge and other,
That nother they set by father and mother;
Some haue so moche Lyberte that they fere no synne,
Tyll, as ye se many tymes, they shame all theyr kynne.
I am so lusty to loke on, so freshe, and so fre,
That nonnes wyll leue theyr holynes and ryn after me;
Freers, with Foly I make them so fayne
They cast vp theyr obedyence to cache me agayne;
At Lyberte to wander and walke ouer all,
That lustely they lepe somtyme theyr cloyster wall.

[1] Rox., conuenient.
[2] C, C. s̄.; Dyce, c. s̄. *Compare the use of the stroke in* Johñ, *line* 605.
[3] C, theyr; Dyce, they.
[4] Dyce (*note*, II. 452), Am. (*query in note*), fall to prechynge?

Hic aliquis buccat in cornu a retro post populum.
Yonder is a horson for me doth rechate;
Adewe, Syrs, for I thynke leyst that I come to late.
[*Exit* LYBERTE.]

[STAGE IV. SCENE 35.]

(*Rime royal.*) Monologue: Magnificence again bewails his lot.

MAGN. O good Lorde, howe longe shall I indure
This Mysery, this carefull Wrechydnesse?
Of worldly Welthe, alasse! who can be sure?
In Fortunys frendshyppe there is no stedfastnesse;
She hath dyssayuyd me with her doublenesse.
For to be wyse all men may lerne of me,
In Welthe to beware of herde Aduersyte.

[STAGE IV. SCENE 36.] *Here cometh in* CRAFTY CONUEYAUNCE [*and*][1] CLOKED COLUSYON, *with a lusty laughter.*

(*Couplets.*) Crafty Conveyance and Cloaked Collusion make merry over their successful villainy;

CRA. CON. Ha, ha, ha! For laughter I am lyke to brast.
CLO. COL. Ha, ha, ha! For sporte I am lyke to spewe and cast.
CRA. CON. What has thou gotted, in faythe, to thy share?
CLO. COL. In faythe, of his cofers the bottoms are bare.
CRA. CON. As for his plate of syluer, and suche trasshe,
I waraunt you I haue gyuen it a lasshe.
CLO. COL. What! then he may drynke out of a stone cruyse.
CRA. CON. With ye, Syr, by Jesu, that slayne was with Jewes!
He may rynse a pycher, for his plate is to wed.
CLO. COL. In faythe, and he may dreme on a daggeswane for ony fether bed.
CRA. CON. By my trouthe, we[2] haue ryfled hym metely well.
CLO. COL. Ye, but thanke me therof euery dele.
CRA. CON. Thanke the therof, in the deuyls date!
CLO. COL. Leue thy pratynge, or els I shall lay the on the pate.
CRA. CON. Nay, to wrangle, I warant the, it is but a stone caste.
CLO. COL. By the messe, I shall cleue thy heed to the waste.
CRA. CON. Ye, wylte thou clenly cleue[3] me in the clyfte with thy nose?

but soon fall to brawling,

and exchange unsavoury compliments and harmless threats.

[1] C, *om.* and; Dyce, and. [2] Rox., ye.
[3] C, clene (*misprint*); Dyce, cleue.

CLO. COL. I shall thrust in the my dagger—
CRA. CON. Thorowe the legge in to the hose.
CLO. COL. Nay, horson, here is my gloue; take it vp and thou dare.
CRA. CON. Torde! thou arte good to be a man of warre.
CLO. COL. I shall skelpe the on the skalpe; lo, seest thou that?
CRA. CON. What! wylte thou skelpe me? thou dare not loke on a gnat.
CLO. COL. By Cockes bones, I shall blysse the and thou be to bolde.
CRA. CON. Nay, then thou wylte dynge the deuyll and thou be not holde.
CLO. COL. But wottest thou, horson? I rede the to be wyse.
CRA. CON. Nowe I rede the beware; I haue warned the twyse.
CLO. COL. Why, wenest thou that I forbere the for thyne owne sake?
CRA. CON. Peas, or I shall wrynge thy be in a brake.
CLO. COL. Holde thy hande, dawe, of thy dagger, and stynt of thy dyn;
Or I shal fawchyn thy flesshe and scrape the on the skyn.
CRA. CON. Ye, wylte thou, hangman[1]? I say, thou cauell[2]?
CLO. COL. Nay, thou rude rauener! rayne beten iauell!
CRA. CON. What! thou Colyn Cowarde, knowen and tryde!
CLO. COL. Nay, thou false harted dastarde! thou dare not abyde.
CRA. CON. And yf there were none to dysplease but thou and I,
Thou sholde not scape, horson, but thou sholde dye.
CLO COL. Nay, iche shall wrynge the, horson, on the wryst.
CRA. CON. Mary, I defye thy best and thy worst.

[STAGE IV. SCENE 37. *Enter* COUNTERFET COUNTENAUNCE.[3]]

Counterfeit Countenance joins them,

COU. COU.[4] What a very vengeaunce nede all these wordys?
Go together by the heddys, and gyue me your swordys.
CLO. COL. So he is the worste brawler that euer was borne.
CRA. CON. In fayth, so to suffer the, it is but a skorne.

[1] C, hagman (*misprint*); Dyce, hangman.
[2] C, cauēll (*misprint*); Dyce, cauell. *Cf. line* 721.
[3] C *om. this direction; supplied by* Dyce.
[4] C *om.; supplied by* Dyce.

Cou. Cou. Now let vs be all one, and let vs lyue in rest; at first attempting to end the fray;
For we be, Syrs, but a fewe of the best.
Clo. Col. By the masse, man, thou shall fynde me resonable.
Cra. Con. In faythe, and I wyll be to reason agreable.
Cou. Cou. Then truste I to God and the holy rode,
Here shalbe not great sheddynge of blode.
Clo. Col. By our lakyn, Syr, not by my wyll.
Cra. Con. By the fayth that I owe to God, and I wyll syt styll.
Cou. Cou. Well sayd; but in fayth, what was your quarell?
Clo. Clo. Mary, Syr, this gentylman called me iauell.
Cra. Con. Nay, by Saynt Mary, it was ye called me knaue.
Clo. Col. Mary, so vngoodly langage you me gaue.
Cou. Cou. A! shall we haue more of this maters yet?
Me thynke ye are not gretly acomberyd with wyt.
Cra. Con. Goddys fote! I warant you I am a gentylman borne;
And thus to be facyd, I thynke it great skorne.
Cou. Cou. I can not well tell of your dysposycyons:
And ye be a gentylman, ye haue knauys condycyons.
Clo. Col. By God, I tell you, I wyll not be out facyd.
Cra. Con. By the masse, I warant the, I wyll not be bracyd.
Cou. Cou. Tushe, tushe! it is a great defaute;
The one of you is to proude, the other is to haute.
Tell me brefly where vpon ye began.
Clo. Col. Mary, Syr, he sayd that he was the pratyer man
Then I was, in opynynge of lockys;
And I tell you, I dysdayne moche of his mockys.
Cra. Con. Thou sawe neuer yet but I dyd my parte, but soon all three are hotly disputing which is the cleverer thief,
The locke of a caskyt to make to starte.
Cou. Cou. Nay, I know well inough ye are bothe well handyd
To grope a gardeuyaunce, though it be well bandyd.
Clo. Col. I am the better yet in a bowget.
Cra. Con. And I the better in a male.
Cou. Cou. Tushe! these maters that ye moue are but soppys in ale;
Your trymynge and tramynge by me must be tangyd,
For had I not bene, ye bothe had bene hangyd,
When we with Magnyfycence goodys made cheuysaunce. until Magnificence bursts forth in indignation.
Magn. And therfore our Lorde sende you a very wengaunce!

Cou. Cou. What begger art thou, that thus doth banne and wary?

Magn. Ye be the theuys, I say, away my goodys dyd cary.

Clo. Col. Cockys bonys! thou begger, what is thy name?

Magn. Magnyfycence I was, whom ye haue brought to shame.

Cou. Cou. Ye, but trowe you, Syrs, that this is he?

Cra. Con. Go we nere and let vs se.

When they are convinced that it is indeed he,

Clo. Col. By Cockys bonys, it is the same.

Magn. Alasse, alasse, Syrs! ye are to blame.
I was your mayster, though ye thynke it skorne;
And nowe on me ye gaure and sporne.

they gloat over his degradation,

Cou. Cou. Ly styll, ly styll nowe, with yll hayle!

Cra. Con. Ye, for thy langage can not the auayle.

Clo. Col. Abyde, Syr, abyde; I shall make hym to pysse.[1]

Magn. Nowe gyue me somwhat, for God sake, I craue!

and mock him till they are weary.

Cra. Con. In faythe, I gyue the four quarters of a knaue.

Cou. Cou. In faythe, and I bequethe hym the tothe ake.

Clo. Col. And I bequethe hym the bone ake.

Cra. Con. And I bequethe hym the gowte and the gyn.

Clo. Col. And I bequethe hym sorowe for his syn.

Cou. Cou. And I gyue hym Crystys curse,
With neuer a peny in his purse.

Cra. Con. And I gyue hym the cowghe, the murre, and the pose.

Clo. Col. Ye, for *requiem eternam*[2] groweth forth of his nose.
But nowe let vs make mery and good chere.

Cou. Cou. And to the tauerne let vs drawe nere.

Cra. Con. And from thens to the halfe strete,
To get vs there some freshe mete.

Clo. Col. Why, is there any store of rawe motton?

Cou. Cou. Ye, in faythe; or ellys thou arte to great a glotton.

At last they leave him for the congenial delights of the tavern and the "half street."

Cra. Con. But they say it is a queysy mete;
It wyll stryke a man myscheuously in a hete.

Clo. Col. In fay, man, some rybbys of the motton be so ranke
That they wyll fyre one vngracyously in the flanke.

Cou. Cou. Ye, and when ye come out of the shoppe,
Ye shall be clappyd[3] with a coloppe

[1] Dyce (*query in note*), *a line wanting to rime with this? But see note to line* 552.

[2] Dyce, *æternam.* [3] C, clapppyd (*misprint*); Dyce, clappyd.

That wyll make you to halt and to hoppe.
CRA. CON. Som be wrestyd there that they thynke on it forty[1] dayes,
For there be horys there at all assayes.
CLO. COL. For the passyon of God, let vs go thyther[2]!
Et cum festinacione[3] *discedant a loco.*

[STAGE IV. SCENE 38.]

MAGN. Alas, myn owne seruauntys to shew me such reproche! (*Rime royal.*)
Thus to rebuke me and haue me in dyspyght!
So shamfully to me, theyr mayster, to aproche,
That somtyme was a noble prynce of myght!
Alasse! to lyue longer I haue no delyght;
For to lyue in Mysery, it is herder than Dethe.
I am wery of the worlde, for vnkyndnesse me sleeth.

Monologue: Magnificence once more renews his lamentation.

[STAGE IV. SCENE 39.] *Hic intrat* DYSPARE.

DYSPARE. Dyspare is my name, that Aduersyte dothe folowe;[4]
In tyme of Dystresse I am redy at hande;
I make heuy hertys, with eyen full holowe.
Of faruent Charyte I quenche out the bronde;
Faythe and Good Hope[5] I make asyde to stonde.
In Goddys Mercy, I tell them, is but Foly to truste;
All Grace and Pyte I lay in the duste.

Despair follows upon Adversity.

What! lyest thou there lyngrynge, lewdly and lothsome?
It is to late nowe thy synnys to repent.
Thou hast bene so wayward, so wranglyng, and so wrothsome,
And so fer thou arte behynde of thy rent,
And so vngracyously thy dayes thou hast spent,
That thou arte not worthy to loke God in the face.
MAGN. Nay, nay, man, I loke neuer to haue parte of his grace;

The sins of Magnificence are too great for mercy,

[1] C, Dyce, froty (*misprint?*).
[2] Dyce (*query in note*), *a line wanting to rime with this? But see note to line* 552.
[3] Dyce, *festinatione.*
[4] C, felowe; Dyce, folowe.
[5] C, good hope *separately, so always except in direction at line* 2325; Dyce, goodhope, *and elsewhere consistently as one word.*

(*Couplet.*) For I haue so vngracyously my lyfe mysusyd,
Though I aske mercy, I must nedys be refusyd.[1]

Dys. No, no; for thy synnys be so excedynge farre,
So innumerable, and so full of dyspyte,
And agayne thy Maker thou hast made suche warre,
That thou canst not haue neuer Mercy in his syght.
Magn. Alasse my wyckydnesse! that may I wyte!
But nowe I se well there is no better rede,
But sygh, and sorowe, and wysshe my selfe dede.

and Despair recommends suicide, for the world is weary of him.

Dys. Ye, ryd thy selfe rather than this lyfe for to lede;
The worlde waxyth wery of the; thou lyuest to longe.[2]

[Stage IV. Scene 40.] *Hic intrat* Myschefe.

(*Couplets.*) Myschefe. And I, Myschefe, am comyn at nede,
Out of thy lyfe the for to lede.
And loke that it be not longe

Mischief brings a knife and halter,

Or that thy selfe thou go honge
With this halter good and stronge;
Or ellys with this knyfe cut out a tonge
Of thy throte bole, and ryd the out of payne.
Thou arte not the fyrst hymselfe hath slayne.
Lo, here is thy knyfe and a halter; and or we go ferther,

and repeats the advice of Despair.

Spare not thy selfe, but boldly the murder.
Dys. Ye, haue done at ones without delay.
Magn. Shall I myself hange with an halter? Nay;
Nay, rather wyll I chose to ryd me of this lyue
In styckynge my selfe with this fayre knyfe.
Here Magnyfycence *wolde slee hymselfe with a knyfe.*

When Magnificence is preparing to follow it, Despair and Mischief flee.

Mys.[3] Alarum, alarum! to longe we abyde!
Dys. Out harowe! hyll burneth! where shall I me hyde?

[1] *A superfluous final couplet to the stanza; cf. lines* 2062, 3, *and the superfluous line,* 251.

[2] *Perhaps the beginning of a new stanza;* cf. 2062, 3, *and* 2298, 9. *Has the passage been mutilated, as at* 2461–2470?

[3] C, Magn.; Dyce, Mys.

[STAGE V. RESTORATION.]

[Scene 41.] *Hic intrat* Good Hope, *fugientibus* Dyspayre *and* Myschefe; *repente* Good Hope *surripiat illi gladium*,[1] *et dicat.*

(*Couplets.*)

Good Hope. Alas, dere sone! sore combred is thy mynde,
Thyselfe that thou wolde sloo agaynst Nature and Kynde.

Good Hope is just in time to snatch away the sword

Magn. A, blessyd may ye be, Syr! what shall I you call?
G. H. Good Hope, Syr, my name is; remedy pryncypall
Agaynst all sautes[2] of your goostly foo.
Who knoweth me, hymselfe may neuer sloo.
Magn. Alas, Syr! so I am lapped in Aduersyte
That Dyspayre well nyghe had myscheued me;
For had ye not the soner ben my refuge,
Of dampnacyon I had ben drawen in the luge.
G. H. Vndoubted ye had lost yourselfe eternally:

and prevent Magnificence from imperilling his soul's salvation.

There is no man may synne more mortally
Than of Wanhope thrughe the vnhappy wayes,
By Myschefe to breuyate and shorten his dayes.
But, my good sonne, lerne from Dyspayre to flee;
Wynde you from Wanhope and aquaynte you with me.
A grete mysaduenture, thy Maker to dysplease,
Thyselfe myscheuynge to thyne endlesse dysease!
There was neuer so harde a storme of Mysery,
But thrughe Good Hope there may come remedy.

No misery is too great for Good Hope to remedy.

Magn. Your wordes be more sweter than ony precyous narde,
They molefy so easely my harte that was so harde;
There is no bawme ne gumme of Arabe
More delectable than your langage to me.
G. H. Syr, your fesycyan is the Grace of God,
That you hath punysshed with his sharpe rod.
Good Hope, your potecary, assygned am I,

Good Hope is a spiritual apothecary,

That Goddes Grace hath vexed you sharply
And payned you with a purgacyon of odyous Pouerte,
Myxed with bytter alowes of herde Aduersyte.
Nowe must I make you a lectuary softe,—
I to mynyster it, you to receyue it ofte,—
With rubarbe of Repentaunce in you for to rest;
With drammes of Deuocyon your dyet must be drest,—

with many potent

[1] C, gladio; Dyce, gladium. [2] C, fautes; Dyce, sautes.

"ghostly gums."

With gommes goostly of glad herte and mynde,
To thanke God of his sonde; and Comforte ye shal fynde.
Put fro you Presumpcyon and admyt Humylyte,
And hartely thanke God of your Aduersyte;
And loue that Lorde that for your loue was dede,
Wounded from the fote to the crowne of the hede:
For who loueth God can ayle nothynge but good;
He may helpe you, He may mende your mode.
Prosperyte by[1] Hym is gyuen solacyusly to man;
Aduersyte to hym therwith nowe and than;

"All things work together for good to them that love God."

Helthe of body his besynesse to acheue;
Dysease and sekenesse his conscyence to dyscryue;
Afflyccyon and Trouble to proue his Pacyence;
Contradyccyon to proue his Sapyence;
Grace of assystence his Measure to declare;
Somtyme to fall, another tyme to beware:
And nowe ye haue had, Syr, a wonderous fall,
To lerne you hereafter for to beware withall.
Howe say you, Syr? can ye these wordys grope?

Magnificence begins to to repent.

MAGN. Ye, Syr, nowe am I armyd with Good Hope,
And sore I repent me of my Wylfulnesse;
I aske God Mercy of my Neglygesse,[2]
Vnder Good Hope endurynge euer styll,
Me humbly commyttynge vnto Goddys wyll.
G. H. Then shall you be sone delyuered from Dystresse,
For nowe I se comynge to youwarde Redresse.

[STAGE V. SCENE 42.] *Hic intrat* REDRESSE.

REDRESSE. Cryst be amonge you, and the Holy Goste!
G. H. He be your conducte, the Lorde of myghtys moste!

Redress tests his penitence,

REDR. Syr, is your pacyent any thynge amendyd?
G. H. Ye, Syr, he is sory for that he hath offendyd.
REDR. How fele you your selfe, my frend? how is your mynde?
MAGN. A wrechyd man, Syr, to my Maker vnkynde.
REDR. Ye, but haue ye repentyd you with harte contryte?
MAGN. Syr, the Repentaunce I haue no man can wryte.

[1] C, to; Dyce (*query in note*) by? *Compare the line beneath.*
[2] C, neglygence; Dyce (*query in note*) *did Skelton write, for the rime,* neglygesse?

REDR. And haue ye banyshed from you all Dyspare?
MAGN. Ye, holly to Good Hope I haue made my repare.
G. H. Questyonlesse he doth me assure
In Good Hope alway for to indure.
REDR. Than stande vp, Syr, in Goddys name!
And I truste to ratyfye and amende your fame.
Good Hope, I pray you with harty affeccyon
To sende ouer to me Sad Cyrcumspeccyon.
G. H. Syr, your requeste shall not be delayed.
Et exiat.[1]

and sends over for Circumspection.

[STAGE V. SCENE 43.]

REDR. Now, surely, Magnyfycence, I am ryght well apayed
Of that I se you nowe in the state of grace.
Nowe shall ye be renewyd with Solace;
Take nowe vpon you this abylyment,
And to that I say gyue good aduysement.
MAGNYFYCENCE *accipiat indumentum.*

Meanwhile he clothes Magnificence with a new habiliment,

MAGN. To your requeste I shall be confyrmable.
REDR.[2] Fyrst, I saye, with mynde fyrme and stable
Determyne to amende all your Wanton Excesse;
And be ruled by me, whiche am called Redresse.
Redresse my name is, that lytell am I vsed
As the worlde requyreth, but rather I am refused.
Redresse sholde be at the rekenynge in euery accompte,
And specyally to redresse that were out of ioynte.
Full many thynges there be that lacketh Redresse,
The whiche were to longe nowe to expresse;
But Redresse is redlesse and may do no correccyon.
Nowe welcome, forsoth, Sad Cyrcumspeccyon.

and gives him some good advice.

[STAGE V. SCENE 44.] *Here cometh in* SAD CYRCUMSPECCYON, *sayenge,*

SAD CYRCUMSPECCYON. Syr, after your message I hyed me hyder streyght, (*Rime royal.*)
For to vnderstande your Pleasure and also your mynde.
REDR. Syr, to accompte you the contynewe of my Consayte,

[1] Dyce, *exeat.* [2] C *om.*; supplied by Dyce.

Is from Aduersyte Magnyfycence to vnbynde.

Circumspection asks the occasion of his fall.

CYRC.[1] How fortuned you, Magnyfycence, so far to fal behynde?

MAGN. Syr, the longe absence of you, Sad Cyrcumspeccyon,
Caused me of Aduersyte to fall in subieccyon.

It was due to the long absence of Circumspection,

REDR. All that he sayth of trouthe doth procede;
For where Sad Cyrcumspeccyon is longe out of the way,
Of Aduersyte it is to stande in drede.

CYRC. Without fayle, Syr, that is no nay:
Cyrcumspeccyon inhateth all rennynge astray.
But, Syr, by me to rule fyrst ye began.

MAGN. My Wylfulnesse, Syr, excuse I ne can.

CYRC. Then ye of Foly in tymes past you repent[2]?

MAGN. Sothely to repent me I haue grete cause;

and to the forged letter.

Howe be it, from you I receyued a letter sent,[3]
Whiche conteyned in it a specyall clause
That I sholde vse Largesse.

CYRC. Nay, Syr, there a pause.

REDR. Yet let vs se this matter thorowly ingrosed.

MAGN. Syr, this letter ye sent to me at Pountes was enclosed.

CYRC. Who brought you that letter? wote ye what he hyght?

All is now explained;

MAGN. Largesse, Syr, by his credence was his name.

CYRC. This letter ye speke of neuer dyd I wryte.

and Magnificence is rebuked for his hasty credence,

REDR. To gyue so hasty credence ye were moche to blame.

MAGN. Truth it is, Syr; for after he wrought me moch shame,
And caused me also to vse to moche Lyberte,
And made also Mesure to be put fro me.

REDR. Then Welthe with you myght in no wyse abyde.

CYRC. A ha! Fansy and Foly met with you, I trowe.

REDR. It wolde be founde so yf it were well tryde.

[1] C, Cyrcumspeccyon; Dyce, Sad Cyr. C *always omits the adjective, as in the list of players, except in the direction above and the prefix to line* 2419.

[2] C, Dyce, Then ye repent you of foly in tymes past; Gent. Mag. (Dyce, II. 487), *as above*.

[3] C, Dyce, *om.* sent; *supplied by* Gent. Mag. (Dyce, II. 487), *to restore the rime*.

MAGN. Surely my Welthe with them was ouerthrow.
CYRC. Remembre you, therfore, howe late ye were low.
REDR. Ye, and beware of vnhappy Abusyon.
CYRC. And kepe you from Counterfaytynge of Clokyd Colusyon.

and warned against all such companions for the future.

MAGN. Syr, in Good Hope I am to amende.
REDR. Vse not then your Countenaunce for to counterfet.
CYRC. And from Crafters and Hafters I you forfende.

[STAGE V. SCENE 45.] *Hic intrat* PERSEUERAUNCE.

MAGN. Well, Syr, after your counsell my mynde I wyll set.
REDR. What, Brother Perceueraunce! surely well met!
CYRC. Ye com hether as well as can be thought.
PERSEUERAUNCE. I herde say that Aduersyte with Magnyfycence had fought.

MAGN. Ye, Syr; with Aduersyte I haue bene vexyd;
But Good Hope and Redresse hath mendyd my estate,
And Sad Cyrcumspeccyon to me they haue annexyd.[1]

Perseverance perfects Magnificence's change of heart,

* * * * * *

[probably in a speech of some length.]

REDR. What this man hath sayd, perceyue ye his sentence[2]?
MAGN. Ye, Syr; from hym my corage shall neuer flyt.[3]
* * * * * *

* * * * * * *

CYRC. Accordynge to treuth they be well deuysyd.
MAGN. Syrs, I am agreed to abyde your ordenaunce,—
Faythfull[4] assuraunce with good peraduertaunce.
PERS. Yf you be so myndyd, we be ryght glad.
REDR. And ye shall haue more Worshyp then euer ye had.

Magnificence promises to follow his advice,

[1] C, amexyd (*misprint*); Dyce, annexyd.
[2] Dyce (*query in note*), *some corruption? This line ought to rime with the preceding line but one;* Am. (*query in note*) consayte *for* sentence? *But sense as well as rime show that a number of lines have fallen out here, probably a hortatory speech by* PERSEUERAUNCE *to balance those by* GOOD HOPE (2349–77) *and* REDRESSE (2408–18). C *throws no light on the passage. Cf. note to line* 2308.
[3] *The end of this stanza and the beginning of the next seem to have been lost. Cf. lines* 1336 *and* 2495.
[4] C, Faythfully; Dyce, Faythfull.

MAGN. Well, I perceyue in you there is moche Sadnesse,
Grauyte of Counsell, Prouydence, and Wyt;
Your comfortable Aduyse and Wyt excedyth all Gladnesse;
and begs for further counsel from each.
But frendly I wyll refrayne you ferther, or we flyt,
Whereto were most metely my corage to knyt;
Your myndys I beseche you here in to expresse,
Commensynge this processe at Mayster Redresse.

Redress bids him to be liberal but not prodigal;
REDR. Syth vnto me formest this processe is erectyd,
Herein I wyll aforse me to shewe you my mynde:
Fyrst, from your Magnyfycence Syn must be abiectyd;
In all your warkys more Grace shall ye fynde;
Be gentyll, then, of corage, and lerne to be kynde;
For of Noblenesse the chefe poynt is to be lyberall,
So that your Largesse be not to prodygall.

Circumspection, to use liberty with measure, but not wywardness;
CYRC. Lyberte to a lorde belongyth of ryght,
But wylfull Waywardnesse muste walke out of the way;
Measure of your Lustys must haue the ouersyght,
And not all the nygarde nor the chyncherde to play:
Let neuer Negarshyp your Noblenesse affray;
In your rewardys vse suche Moderacyon
That nothynge be gyuen without consyderacyon.

and Perseverance, to remember the shortness of life and the fickleness of fortune.
PERS. To the increse of your Honour then arme you with Ryght,
And fumously adresse you with Magnanymyte;
And euer let the Drede of God be in your syght,
And knowe your selfe mortal for all your Dygnyte;[1]
* * * * * *
Set not all your affyaunce in Fortune full of Gyle;
Remember this lyfe lastyth but a whyle.

Magnificence accepts their instructions with gratitude.
MAGN. Redresse, in my remembraunce your lesson shall rest;
And Sad Cyrcumspeccyon I marke in my mynde:
But, Perseueraunce, me semyth your probleme was best;
I shall it neuer forget nor leue it behynde,
But hooly to Perseueraunce my selfe I wyll bynde,
Of that I haue mysdone to make a Redresse,
And with Sad Cyrcumspeccyon correcte my Vantonnesse.

[1] *A line has apparently fallen out at this point.*

REDR. Vnto this processe brefly compylyd,
  Comprehendynge the worlde casuall and transytory;
Who lyst to consyder shall neuer be begylyd,
  Yf it be regystryd well in memory;
  A playne example of worldly vaynglory,
    Howe in this worlde there is no Sekernesse,[1]
    But fallyble Flatery enmyxyd with Bytternesse.

(*Rime royal with refrain.*) Epilogue: the four players turn to the audience to point the moral.

Nowe well, nowe wo, nowe hy, nowe lawe degre;
  Nowe ryche, nowe pore, nowe hole, nowe in dysease;
Nowe Pleasure at large, nowe in captyuyte;
  Nowe leue, nowe lothe, now please, nowe dysplease;
  Now ebbe, now flowe, nowe increase, now dyscrease:
    So in this worlde there is no Sykernesse,
    But fallyble Flatery enmyxyd with Bytternesse.

The play is a "process" compiled as an example of the insecurity of worldly glory;

CYRC. A myrrour incleryd is this interlude,
  This lyfe inconstant for to beholde and se:
Sodenly auaunsyd, and sodenly subdude;
  Sodenly Ryches, and sodenly Pouerte;
  Sodenly Comfort, and sodenly Aduersyte;
    Sodenly thus Fortune can bothe smyle and frowne,
    Sodenly set vp, and sodenly cast downe.

an "interlude" which holds up the mirror to the sudden humours of Fortune;

Sodenly promotyd, and sodenly put backe;
  Sodenly cherysshyd, and sodenly cast asyde;
Sodenly commendyd, and sodenly fynde a lacke;
  Sodenly grauntyd, and sodenly denyed;
  Sodenly hyd, and sodenly spyed:
    Sodenly thus Fortune can bothe smyle and frowne,
    Sodenly set vp, and sodenly cast downe.

PERS. This treatyse, deuysyd to make you dysporte,
  Shewyth nowe adayes howe the worlde comberyd is,
To the pythe of the mater who lyst to resorte:
  To day it is well, to morowe it is all amysse;
  To day in delyte, to morowe bare of blysse;
    To day a lorde, to morowe ly in the duste:
    Thus in this worlde there is no erthly truste.

a "treatise" devised to show the daily reversals of worldly prosperity;

[1] C, sekenesse (*misprint*); Dyce, sekernesse.

To day fayre wether, to morowe a stormy rage;
To day hote, to morowe outragyous colde;
To day a yoman, to morowe made of page;
To day in surety, to morowe bought and solde;
To day maysterfest, to morowe he hath no holde;
To day a man, to morowe he lyeth in the duste:
Thus in this worlde there is no erthly truste.

and a "matter" teaching under pretence of play the transitoriness of this world's wealth.

MAGN. This mater we haue mouyd, you myrthys to make,
Precely purposyd vnder pretence of play,
Shewyth Wysdome to them that Wysdome can take:
Howe sodenly worldly Welth dothe dekay;
How Wysdom thorowe Wantonnesse vanysshyth away;
How none estate lyuynge of hymselfe can be sure,
For the Welthe of this worlde can not indure.

Of the terestre Rechery[1] we fall in the flode,
Beten with stormys of many a frowarde blast,
Ensorbyd[2] with the wawys sauage and wode;
Without our shyppe be sure, it is lykely to brast;
Yet of Magnyfycence oft made is the mast:
Thus none estate lyuynge of hymselfe[3] can be sure,
For the Welthe of this worlde can not indure.

(*Rime royal.*) A final stanza tells the joyous return to the palace, with the promise of enduring felicity.

REDR. Nowe semyth vs syttynge that ye then resorte
Home to your paleys with Ioy and Ryalte.
CYRC. Where euery thyng is ordenyd after your noble porte.
PERS. There to indeuer with all Felycyte.
MAGN. I am content, my frendys, that it so be.
REDR. And ye that haue harde this dysporte and game,
Jhesus preserue you frome endlesse wo and shame.

AMEN.

[1] C, Dyce, terestre rechery; Dyce (*query in note*, II. 277), trechery, *as before in line* 2020? *But* rechery *for* richery, *i. e.* riches? *Cf. line above.*

[2] C, Dyce, ensordyd; Dyce (*query in note*, II. 277) ensorbyd, *i. e. sucked in, swallowed? In N.E.D.* ensordyd *is cited only in this passage, given wrongly as from* Colin Clout.

[3] C, Dyce, hym; Dyce (note, II. 277): "*Must be an error of the press for* hymselfe; *compare v.* 2552."

NOTES.

(Such of Dyce's notes as seem of value are here reprinted, with his name attached; and reference is made to the Introduction for all lines or passages there discussed.)

"That this piece was composed subsequently to the year 1515, seems evident from the mention made in one place [l. 280] of 'Kynge Lewes of France' as an example of liberality [and as dead, l. 282]; and this could only mean Louis XII., who died in that year, as his immediate predecessor of that name [who died in 1483] was the most niggardly of wretches." *MS. note by Ritson on a transcript of* Magnyfycence. (Dyce.) Cf. intro. xxi–xxv.

p. 1. Title: intro. xix, xx. Names of the players: xxviii. Stage I: xxvi, lxviii, clviii, clxvi. Scene I: lxvi. ll. 1–45: xvii. ll. 1–21: clxvi. ll. 1–7: lii. ll. 1–5: This cryptic passage seems to mean: "All things are effected or brought to pass by the intelligence (cf. l. 118),—all worldly conditions, both high and low, are subject to its guidance. Amid the varying turns of fortune wealth has its season. Wealth is a sure test of intelligence; for he is a fool who quarrels with his own interests." The curious use of "enuyronnyd" suggests a half-personification of the "world," just as in the older moralities Mundus might appear with Wealth on one side and Poverty on the other. l. i: intro. xxxvii. l. 2: xxxii. l. 3: xxxiii. l. 4: xxxvii, lx. l. 6, *vryd*. A favorite word with Skelton; Dyce cites the *Replycacyon*, l. 95; "Ye are unhappely vred," and l. 403:

> "Agaynst these heretykes
> Nowe of late abiured,
> Most vnhappely vred";

The *Doughty Duke of Albany*, l. 125:

> "O Scottes pariured,
> Vnhappily vred";

Against the Scottes, l. 111, "Male vred was your fals entent"; and *Colin Clout*, l. 1003:

> "Wherefore he hath good vre
> That can hymselfe assure
> Howe fortune wyll endure."

p. 2. l. 16: intro. xxxvi. l. 17, *made to the lure*. A metaphor from falconry: "*Lure* is that whereto Faulconers call their young Hawks, by casting it up in the aire, being made of feathers and leather, in such wise that in the motion it looks not unlike a fowl." Latham's *Faulconry* (*Explan. of Words of Art*), 1658. (Dyce, note to *Phyllyp Sparowe*, l. 1100, II. 147). For similar metaphors cf. *in the mew* (l. 35), *he hawketh for a butterflye* (l. 575), *out of owle flyght* (l. 671), *hobby for suche a lusty larke* (l. 1564). l. 18: intro. xxxii, xxxvi. l. 19: xxxiv, xxxvii. Scene 2: lxvii, lxviii. l. 29: lxviii. l. 38: xxxvii.

p. 3. l. 44: intro. xxxvi. l. 46: lx. l. 47: xxxiv, xxxvi. l. 68: xxxvi. l. 69: xxxvi. l. 75: xxxvi.

p. 4. Scene 3: intro. lxvii, lxviii, lxxiii. ll. 81–91: lxi. l. 85: xxxiv. l. 94, *arecte.* So Skelton again, "Syth vnto me formest this processe is erectyd" (l. 2478 of the present drama);

> "Arrectinge vnto your wyse examinacion
> How all that I do is vnder refformation"
> (*Garlande of Laurell*, l. 410).

He has also, "Arectyng my syght towarde the zodyake" (*Id.* l. 1); "My supplycacyon to you I arrect" (*Id.* l. 55). *Arect* in our early writers frequently signifies 'impute,' a meaning foreign to the present passages; in the two last cited, there can be no doubt that it is used in the sense of 'raise'; in the others it seems to mean 'offer, refer.' (Dyce.) In all but one of these five cases (the one in *G. of L.* l. 1), we have rather the meaning given in the *N. E. D.* under *aret:* "To commit a charge to, entrust, deliver (a false use of Spenser's due to misunderstanding the obs. *arrett to the charge of* in 2 b; imitated by others)." The mistake of Spenser seems thus to have been made earlier by Skelton. This *aret* or *arect*, usually with the sense of 'impute, count', from Latin *reputare*, is to be distinguished from *arrect* from *arrigere*, which occurs in *G. of L.* l. 1.

p. 5. l. 114: intro. xxxvi. ll. 114–120: lv. l. 121: xxxiii. l. 134: xxix. l. 137: *All trebyllys and tenours be rulyd by a meyne.* "Intercentus, a *meane* of a songe." *Ortus Vocab.* In the notes on Shakespeare, in Todd's *Johnson's Dict.*, etc., *mean* is wrongly explained—tenor: what the *mean* was, depended entirely on the nature of the composition (Dyce).

Cf. also *Wisdom*, ll. 620–623:

> "*Mynde.* A tenowur to yow bothe I brynge;
> *Wndyrstondynge.* And I a mene, for ony kynge;
> *Wyll.* And, but a trebull I owt wrynge,
> The deuell hym spede, that myrthe exyled! [Et cantent."

The "mean" or middle voice prevents the treble from going too low, and the tenor from rising too high (to avoid crossing of the voices), and thus "rules" them. Cf. l. 1463.

p. 5. l. 141: intro. xxxiii.

p. 6. l. 147: intro. xxxiv. l. 148: xxxiv, xxxvii. l. 149: xxxiv, xxxvi. Scene 4: lxvii. l. 166: xcvii. l. 173: xcvii.

p. 7. l. 188: intro. xxxvi. l. 194: xxxii, xcvii. l. 197: xxxiii. l. 204: xxxii. l. 207: xxxvii. ll. 212, 213: "Liberty in some cases becomes a gentle mind,—in case, that is, of the practice of Measure,—if I am present also."

p. 8. l. 225: intro. xcvii. l. 227: xxxii. l. 232, *a poppynge fole.* "He is a popte fool or a starke fole for the nones. Homo fatuitate monstrabilis" (Hormanni *Vulgari*, sig. P iii, ed. 1530). Cf. "poppyng dawes" (*Replycayon*, l. 39), "poppynge folysshe dawes" (*Why Come Ye Nat to Court*, l. 261), and

> "And porisshly forthe popped
> Your sysmaticate sawes" (*Replycayon*, l. 121).

"*Popping*, blabbing, like a popinjay or parrot," *Gloss.* to *Exmoor Scolding.* (Dyce.) *English Dialect Society*, no. 25 (1879), p. 146.

p. 9. Scene 6: intro. xcix. l. 251: lxiv. l. 265: xcvii. l. 267: xxxii. l. 269: lxxiv. l. 270: xcvii. l. 271: xl. l. 273: xcvii.

p. 10. ll. 279–282: intro. xxi. l. 279: xcvii. l. 283: cxxii. l. 288: xlviii. l. 289: xcix. l. 295: lx. l. 298: xcix. l. 301: xcix.

p. 11. ll. 308–15: intro. xxix. l. 308: xxiv. Scene 7: lv, lxvii.

p. 12. l. 341: intro. xxiv. ll. 346–367: xxiv. l. 347: xlvi. l. 349: xcix. l. 357: xcviii. l. 359, *antetyme*, i. e. text. So in the absurd story of

Skelton's preaching, *Merie Tales* (reprinted in *Appendix to Account of his Life and Writings*), "I say, as I said before in my *antethem, vos estis.*" *Tale vii.* (Dyce).

p. 13. l. 365: intro. xliv. l. 370: xxxii. ll. 382–389: lv. l. 382: lx. l. 383, *state.* Cf. *Castle of Perseverance*, l. 3616:

"Kyng, kayser, knyt, and kampyoun . . .
All the statis of the werld."—(see intro. xcvii.)

l. 388: intro. xcvii. l. 394: xlvii. l. 395: xxvi. l. 395, stage direction: xliv.

p. 14. Stage II: intro. xxvii, lxix, clviii, clxvii, clxxiii. Scene 8: lxvii, xciv. l. 404: xcvii. ll. 407–9: lxii, xciv. l. 411: xl. l. 417: lxxxi. l. 423: xlvii, lxxxii.

p. 15. ll. 431 ff.: intro. lxxxi. ll. 452 ff.: lxxxii.

p. 16. l. 466: intro. lvi. l. 474: lxxxii. l. 478: xl. l. 479: lxv. ll. 480–6: lxxxi, cxv. Scene 9: lxvii, xcv.

p. 17. ll. 500–508: intro. xlvii, clxxiii. l. 512, *for Cockys harte. Magnificence* is remarkably full of oaths and expletives, which are extraordinarily variegated and sometimes picturesque. The partial list which follows may be compared with a catalogue of the oaths in Lindsay's *Three Estates* and in *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, given in Julian Sharman's *A Cursory History of Swearing* (London, 1884), pp. 196–8. References for the less common ones are to be found in the Glossarial Index. They may be classified roughly as follows: *a.* by divine names, parts, or attributes: by God (15 times), a Lorde God, by the goode Lorde, by the God holy, by Cryst, by Jesse, by Jesu that slayne was with Jewes, by Hym that cross kyst, by Hym that hell did harowe; by Goddys or Cockys body (3), by Cockes bones (7), by the harte of God, or Cockes harte (15), by Cockes armes (11), by Goddes fote (2), Cockes woundes; Goddes cope, for Goddes brede, for the passyon of God, by Goddes sacrament. *b.* by the saints: Mary (20), by our lady, by our lakyn, by lakyn, by Saynt Mary, by Saynt Sym. *c.* by the devil: what the deuyll (10), where the deuyll, what the deuyll of hell, what the deuyll ayleth you, the deuylles torde, in the dyuyls date, the deuyll spede whyt, as the deuyll wolde, to the deuyll I the betake. *d.* by miscellaneous objects: by my syers soule, by the masse (13), by the rode, by the rode of Wodstocke Parke, by the armes of Calys, for the armys of the dyce, by my trouthe, by your soth, by my (or thy) faythe, by the faythe that I owe to God. *e.* asseverations and imprecations: so God me spede, so helpe me God, God gyue me shame, I make God auowe, I gyue God auowe, for God auowe, for God sake, to God and the holy rode; I pray God gyue you confusyon, God sende the brayne, I befole thy face, I pray God let you neuer to thee, our Lorde sende you a very wengeaunce. *f.* mere expletives: in faythe (24), in good faythe, in fay, for surety, perde, torde (4), hem (3), tusshe (9), tushe! a strawe (2). ll. 516–23: intro. lvi. l. 520: xl. l. 521: xcvii. l. 523: xlviii. l. 525: xlii.

p. 18. l. 532: intro. xcv. l. 534: lxxx, xcv. l. 535: lxv. l. 552: lxv. ll. 557–9: lxiv.

p. 19. l. 568: intro. cxxi, cxxiii. Scene 10: lxvii, xcv. l. 583: xl, ci.

p. 20. l. 607: intro. xlv, xlix. l. 608: ci. ll. 624–8: lxv.

p. 21. l. 633: intro. xvii. ll. 639–46: xlvii, clxxiii. l. 650: ci. l. 656: cxxiii. l. 660: xlvii.

p. 22. l. 674: intro. xli. l. 675: cxxi. l. 681: xlii. Scene 11: l, lxvii, lxxxiv, xciv, cxv.

p. 23. l. 710: intro. lxxxiv. l. 715: xlvii. l. 721: xciv.

p. 24. ll. 727, 8: intro. lxv. l. 747: *Rutty bully ioly rutterkyn heyda!* occurs in a song preserved in the Fairfax MS. which once belonged to Ralph Thoresby, and is now among the Additional MS. in the British Museum (5465, fol. 114):

"Hoyda joly rutterkyn hoyda
Lyke a rutterkyn hoyda.

Rutterkyn is com vnto oure towne
In a cloke withoute cote or gowne
Save a raggid hode to kouer his crowne
Like a rutter hoyda.

Rutterkyn can speke no englissh
His tonge rennyth all on buttyrd fyssh
Besmerde with grece abowte his disshe
Like a rutter hoyda.

Rutterkyn shall bryng you all good luk
A stoup of bere vp at a pluk
Till his brayne be as wise as a duk
Like a rutter hoyda. . . ."

Sir John Hawkins printed the above song (with the music) and tells us that it "is supposed to be a satire on those drunken Flemings who came into England with the princess Anne of Cleve, upon her marriage with king Henry VIII." (*Hist. of Music*, III. 2). But if it be the very song quoted in our text, it must allude to "rutterkyns" of a considerably earlier period; and, as the Fairfax MS. contains two other pieces which are certainly known to be from Skelton's pen, there is a probability that this also was composed by him. . . . Compare the following passage of Medwall's *Interlude of Nature* [ll. 1077–9]:

"And whan he is in suche aray,
There goth a rutter, men wyll say,
A rutter, huf a galand." (Dyce, abridged.)

Scene 12: intro. xlv, lxvii, lxxxii, xcv. l. 748: lxiv.

p. 25. l. 755, *a betell or a batowe or a buskyn lacyd.* In *Ortus Vocab.* (fol. ed. W. de Worde, n.d.), besides "Feritorium · anglice a battynge staffe a batyll dur or a betyll," we find "Porticulus · anglice a lytell handstaff or a betyll." For *batowe* I have proposed in a note below the text "batone" (baton), a conjecture which is somewhat supported by the preceding word; but it seems more probable that the right reading is "botowe," i. e. boot, for the work above cited has "Ocree. . . . anglice botis or botwes [ed. 1514, botowes]," and *Prompt. Parv.* (ed. 1499) gives "Botewe, Coturnus." (Dyce.) Cf. *N. E. D.*, *botew*; Way's ed., 1843, of the *Prompt. Parv.* has (p. 45): "Botew, Coturnus, botula, crepita." With the line cf. Chaucer, *Prol.* 591, 2: "Ful longe were his legges, and ful lene, Ylyk a staf, ther was no calf ysene." l. 764: intro. xcvii. l. 778: xlvii. Scene 13: lxvii, xcv, cxiv.

p. 26. l. 809: intro. xcvii.

p. 27. ll. 825–34: intro. lxi, lxix. Scene 14: xlv, lxvii, lxviii, lxxxii, lxxxiii, xciv, cxv. l. 830: xciv.

p. 28. l. 850: *My sleue is wyde.* Dyce cites the *Ship of Fools* and quotes the long speech of Pride in *Nature*, ll. 748–787; l. 748, which Brandl was unable to make out, he gives as

"Behold the bonet vppon my hed."

ll. 858–64: intro. xl. l. 863: lxxxii. l. 878: lxxxiii, cxx. l. 883: xlvii.

p. 29. l. 889 : intro. lxxxii. l. 906 : lxxxiii. l. 910 : xlvii, lxxxii. l. 912 : *Stow, stow.* Dyce compares with this passage *Ware the Hauke*, l. 73, "And cryed, Stow, stow, stow," and quotes from Turberville's *Booke of Falconrie*, etc. (p. 182, ed. 1611) : "Make them come from it to your fist, eyther much or little, with calling and chirping to them, saying : Towe, Towe, or Stowe, Stowe, as Falconers vse." (Dyce, II. 207.) Scene 15 : intro. lxvii, xcv.

p. 30. l. 922 : intro. ci. l. 923 : xlvi. l. 926, *an hawke of the towre.* So again our author in the *Garlande of Laurell :*

> "Ientill as fawcoun
> Or hawke of the towre" (l. 1006);

i. e., says Warton, "in the king's mews in the Tower" (*Hist. of E. P.* II. 355, ed. 4to) : and the following lines occur in a poem called *Armony of Byrdes*, n.d. (attributed without authority to Skelton), reprinted entire in *Typograph. Antiq.* IV. 380, ed. Dibdin :

> "The Haukes dyd syng,
> Their belles dyd ryng,
> Thei said they came from the tower.
> We hold with the kyng
> And wyll for him syng
> To God, day, nyght, and hower." (p. 383.)

But I apprehend that by a *hawke of the towre* Skelton means a hawk that towers aloft, takes a station high in the air, and thence swoops upon her prey. Juliana Berners mentions certain hawks which "ben hawkes of the towre" (*Book of St. Albans*, sig. c.v.) ; and Turberville says : "She [the hobby] is of the number of those Hawkes that are hie flying and towre Hawks" (*Booke of Falconrie*, p. 53, ed. 1611). (Dyce.) ll. 933 ff. : intro. xlvii, clxxiii. ll. 939–41 : lxv. l. 952 : cxxiii. l. 953 : lxxxiv.

p. 31. l. 957 : intro. xlvii. l. 960 : xlv, lxxxii. l. 965 : xlii. Scene 16 : l, lxii, lxvii, lxviii. ll. 968–71 : lxix.

p. 32. l. 993 : intro. xciv. l. 1006 ff. : ci. l. 1010 : lx. l. 1024 : xl.

p. 33. l. 1029 : intro. cxviii. l. 1031 : xlv. Scene 17 : lxvii. l. 1044, stage direction, *crema.* For Dyce's conjecture *cremia* Du Cange gives : "*Cremium*, a cremare : siccamentum lignorum vel frixorum in patella : et etiam quod remanet in patella aridum de carnibus post pinguedinem liquefactum, dicitur Cremium, unde Propheta, Ossa mea sicut Cremium aruerunt. . . . Sed et ipse Columella 12. 19 : Levi primum igne, et tenuibus admodum lignis, quae Cremia rustici appellant, fornacem incendemus. Gloss. Graec. Lat. : *φρύγανον*, Cremium . . . ." Cf. intro. xlvi.—*feriendo tabulas.* Du Cange gives : "4. *Tabula* lignea, cujus percussione excitabantur Monachi, malleolo scilicet tabulam tundente. . . . Tabulam percutere ad licentiam loquendi;" and also "7. *Tabula*, Genus instrumenti musici, quod tenebat in manibus Cantor in Ecclesia. . . Tabulae osseae, quas cantores tenent in manibus." One of these senses is probably to be assigned the word here, for the fool, as we have seen (intro. xcix.), derived his costume and insignia in large measure from the monastery. l. 1047 : intro. xlvi. l. 1050 : civ. l. 1051 : civ. l. 1053 : civ. l. 1055 : xlvi.

p. 34. l. 1057, *Mackemurre.* A proper name, though not printed as such in the old copy :

> "The great Onele, and Makmurre also,
> And al the lordes and kynges of Ireland."
> (Hardyng's *Chronicle*, fol. cxlix., ed. 1543.) (Dyce.)

l. 1059: intro. civ. l. 1060 ff.: cii. l. 1061: xli. ll. 1069–79: xxix, xlviii. l. 1073 ff.: xl. l. 1084 ff.; cii. l. 1092: xcviii.

p. 35. l. 1103 ff.: intro. xlvi, ci. l. 1124: civ.

p. 36. l. 1144: intro. ci. l. 1148: lxv. ll. 1155, 6: lxiii, lxviii.

p. 37. Scene 18: intro. lxvii, lxx, xcv. l. 1161: xli. l. 1162: xli, xcviii. l. 1164: civ. l. 1167: xcix. l. 1171: xcviii. l. 1177: *In a cote thou can play well the dyser.* "*Dysoure.* Bomolochus. Nugaculus," *Prompt. Parv.* ed. 1499: "*Dissar*, a scoffar, *saigefol*," Palsgrave's *Lesclar. de la Lang. Fr.*, 1530, fol. xxix. Table of Subst. [ed. 1852, p. 214]. "He can play the *desarde* with a contrefet face properly. Morionem scite representat," Hormanni *Vulgaria*, sig. bb. iiii., ed. 1530. "One that were skylled in the crafte of *dysours* or skoffyng fellows," Palsgrave's *Acolastus*, 1540, sig. II. ii. (Dyce.) Way's ed. of the *Prompt. Parv.* (1843) has (p. 122): "Dysowre, that cannot be sad. Holomochus (other MSS., bonilocus, or bomolochus) Aristoteles in ethicis, nugaculus, nugax," and in a note cites Elyot as giving "'*Pantomimus*, a dyssard which can fayne and counterfayte every mannes gesture. *Sannio*, a dysarde in a play or disguysynge: also he which in countenaunce, gesture, and maners is a fole.'" Nares (ed. Halliwell and Wright, 1859) gives under *Dizard, Dizzard*, or *Disard*, "The dizard was properly the vice, or fool, in a play; the jester," and cites from the *Nomenclator*: "'Pantomimus, Senecae, qui fracto corporis motu turpique gesticulatione quasvis actiones repraesentat, ab omnifaria imitatione indito nomine. παντομίμος. A dizzard or common vice or jester, counterfetting the gestures of any man, and moving his body as him list.'" The word seems thus to have been especially appropriate as applied to the vice-fool of our play. Cf. intro. xli, xlvi. l. 1192: xli, xcviii.

p. 38. l. 1206: intro. xl. l. 1213: ci. l. 1214: cvi.

p. 39. ll. 1238–62: intro. lxxxi, cxii, cxvii. l. 1253: lxx.

p. 40. l. 1260: *I made hym lese moche of theyr strength.* In a number of passages *Magnificence* has an apparent confusion of pronoun reference between the singular and plural. Here, as also in ll. 421–423, ll. 1364, 5, we have evidently a survival of the old spelling "hym," "hymselfe," for the common plural "hem" (although the latest date given for this form in the *N. E. D.* is 1380). In other cases, as ll. 1238–52, ll. 1261, 2, ll. 1267–76, ll. 1750–52, however, we do have an anacolouthon, partially justifiable by taking the "he" as indefinite in force, as it is in l. 1215. In l. 1446, "get thou home togyther," we are perhaps to understand, "together with him." ll. 1264–76: intro. cxvii. l. 1271: xcvii. l. 1277: lxx. l. 1291: xl.

p. 41. l. 1298: intro. civ. ll. 1306 ff.: xlvii, clxxiii. l. 1310: xli. ll. 1315–18: cxxiii. Scene 19: l, lxvii, xciv.

p. 42. l. 1331: intro. xcix. l. 1336: lxiv. l. 1354: lxxx.

p. 43. Stage III: intro. xxvii, lxx, lxxiv, clviii. Scene 20: clxix. l. 1375: clxxiii. l. 1395, *had I wyst.* Cf. Spenser, *Mother Hubbard's Tale*, l. 893.

p. 44. Scene 21: intro. clxix. l. 1401: xxxiii, xxxvii. l. 1404: xlvii. Scene 22: clxix.

p. 45. l. 1420: intro. xxxiv. l. 1427, *Jacke a Thrommys bybyll.* Dyce cites (II. 189), beside the present passage, *Against Garnesche*, l. 204, "Good Latyn for Jake a Thrum"; *Colin Clout*, l. 284, "As wyse as Tom a Thrum" (where the MS. has "Jacke athrum"); *Garland of Laurel*, l. 209, "Iack a Thrummis bybille"; and also "Burlesques," Wright and Halliwell's *Reliquiae Antiquae*, I. 84: "And therto acordes too worthi prechers, Jacke a Throme and Jone Brest-Bale; these men seyd in the bibull that an ill drynker is unpossibull hevone for to wynne; for God luffus nodur hors nor mare, but mere men that in the cuppe con stare. And them that all nyght wyll sytte

up and drynke, them forgyves he ther synne." l. 1431, 2: intro. xxxvi. l. 1445: xxxiii.

p. 46. l. 1452: intro. xli, xlii. l. 1455: xli. Scene 23: l, lxvii, cxxxvi, clxix. l. 1457: *For nowe, Syrs, I am lyke as a prynce sholde be.* This speech of Magnyfycence is very much in the style of Herod in the old miracle-plays: see, for instance, the *Coventry Mysteries* [pp. 161, 163, 183]. (Dyce.) Cf. intro. xcvii. ll. 1466–1514: intro. lxxxviii, xcvii, cxvi. l. 1471: lx, xcvii. l. 1477: lx.

p. 47. l. 1485: intro. xcvii. l. 1503, *Basyan the bolde.* Basyan is, I suppose, Antoninus Bassianus Caracalla (he is called "Basian" in Robert of Gloucester's *Chron.*, p. 76 sqq.). (Dyce.) l. 1506: intro. lx. l. 1508, *Galba, whom his galantys garde for agaspe*, i.e. (I suppose) Galba, whom his gallants (soldiers) made to gasp,—they assassinated him; see *gar* in l. 1514. (Dyce.) l. 1510, *Vaspasyan, that bare in his nose a waspe.* This passage is explained by the following lines of a poem never printed, entitled *The Sege of Jerusalem:*

> "His fader Vaspasiane ferly bytydde;
> A byke of waspes bredde in his nose,
> Hyved vp in his hedde he hadde hem of thoght,
> And Vaspasiane is called by cause of his waspes."
> (MS. Cott. Calig. A. II. fol. 109.) (Dyce.)

p. 48. Scene 24: intro. lxvii, xcv, clxix. l. 1516: xxxii. l. 1521: xcvii. l. 1525: lxxxii, cxxii. l. 1531: cxxii. l. 1545: xcvii. l. 1547: lxxxi, cxv, cxxii.

p. 50. l. 1594: intro. xxxix. l. 1606: xcvii. l. 1607: xxxix.

p. 51. l. 1626: intro. xcvii. Scene 25: xli, lxvii, lxxxiv, xcv, cxv, cxviii, clxix. l. 1631: xlii. l. 1633: xcvii.

p. 54. l. 1725: intro. xliv. Scene 26: lxvii, lxxxiv, xcv, cxvii.

p. 55. ll. 1768–96: intro. cxxii.

p. 56. l. 1793: intro. xxxiv. Scene 27: lxx. Scene 28: xli, lxvii, cii, cxxii, clxix. l. 1803: lxx.

p. 57. ll. 1814, 1823, 1832, 1836: intro. civ. l. 1842: cxxv. Scene 29: lxx. ll. 1843–2047: xx. l. 1845: ci.

p. 58. Scene 30: intro. lxx, cxc. ll. 1855, 1860: xlii. l. 1861: xli. l. 1862: xlii. l. 1866: xl. l. 1868: xxxvii. l. 1874: xxvi.

p. 59. Stage IV: intro. xxviii, lxx, lxxiv, lxxxv, clviii, clxix. Scene 31: lxvii, lxxiv. ll. 1875–7: lxv. l. 1875, stage direction: xlv. ll. 1876, 7: xliii, clxxvii. l. 1882: xliii, lxxiv. l. 1883: xvii. l. 1886: xcvii. ll. 1896 ff.: lxxiv.

p. 60. l. 1920: intro. lxxxvi. l. 1941, *preposytour*, i. e. a scholar appointed by the master to overlook the rest. "I am preposyter of my boke. Duco classem," Hormanni, *Vulgaria*, sig. R viii., ed. 1530. (Dyce.) Cf. intro. xliii.

p. 61. Scene 32: intro. lxvii. l. 1962: xlv. l. 1966, stage direction: xlvii. ll. 1978, 9: xliii.

p. 62. ll. 1991, 2: intro. xliii. l. 2014: xvii.

p. 63. l. 2021: intro. xcvii.

p. 64. Scene 33: intro. lxvii. ll. 2048–54: lxv. l. 2060: xcvii. l. 2062: lxiv. Scene 34: lxvii. ll. 2064–77: xxxiv, lxiii, lxvii.

p. 65. l. 2078: intro. xxxix. ll. 2101, 2: xxix. l. 2112: xcvii.

p. 66. l. 2115: intro. xl. l. 2116: xxxix. l. 2117: xl. l. 2123: xcvii.

p. 67. l. 2150, stage direction: intro. l. Scene 35: lxvii. Scene 36: lxvii, xcv, cxiv, cxc. l. 2163: lxxiv. l. 2187, *wrynge thy be in a brake.* Professor Bright suggests that *be* is used here as a quibbling echo of the *be* recurring in the preceding dialogue ("and thou *be* to bolde," "I rede the to *be* wyse," "I rede the *be*ware"), so that the line would mean, "I'll put thy 'be' (i. e. thy injunction) on the rack."

p. 68. Scene 37: intro. xlviii, lxvii, lxxiv, lxxxv, xcv, cxiv, cxc. ll. 2198–2364: xvii.

p. 69. l. 2216: intro. cxiv.

p. 70. ll. 2251–8: intro. lvii. l. 2263, *the halfe strete.* On the Bank-side, Southwark,—where the stews were: it is mentioned in the following curious passage of *Cocke Lorelles bote*, n.d. (where the "wynde fro wynchester" alludes to the temporary suppression of the Southwark stews at the intercession of the Bishop of Winchester): [the lines quoted are on pp. 6, 7 of the ed. in *Percy Soc.*, n. 6, 1843.] (Dyce.) Cf. intro. xlvii.

p. 71. Scene 38: intro. lxvii, lxxxv. l. 2280: xcvii. Scene 39: lv, lxvii, lxxxv, clxxi. ll. 2287–90: xxxviii. l. 2291: lx.

p. 72. l. 2279: intro. lxiv. l. 2307: lxiv. Scene 40: lv. l. 2313: xlv. l. 2317, 18: lxv. ll. 2323, 4: xliii, clxx. l. 2324: xxvi.

p. 73. Stage V: intro. xxviii, lxxi, clviii, clxx. Scene 41: lxvii. l. 2324, stage direction: xliv. l. 2337: xliii.

p. 74. l. 2372: intro. xxxvii. l. 2379: xxxix. Scene 42: lxvii.

p. 75. l. 2401: intro. xlviii. Scene 43: lxvii. l. 2404: xxxix. l. 2405: xlv. l. 2409: xxxix. l. 2418: xxix. Scene 44: lxvii.

p. 76. l. 2432: intro. xxxix. l. 2439, *Pountes.* The repeated naming of Pontoise (in l. 343 and here) seems to hint at some particular connection with the politics of the time; but what this is I have been unable to discover.

p. 77. l. 2451: intro. lx. Scene 45: lxvi, lxvii. ll. 2461–70: lxiv.

p. 78. l. 2483: intro. xl, lxxiii. l. 2486: xxxix. l. 2487: lxxiv. l. 2490: xxxvi. l. 2495: xxxii, lxiv. l. 2504: xxxiv.

p. 79. ll. 2505–60: intro. lxiii, lxxxv, clxxii. l. 2522: xxxiii.

p. 80. l. 2558: intro. xxxii. ll. 2561–67: lxxi. l. 2562: xlvii, xcvii. l. 2567: cxxx.

GLOSSARIAL INDEX.

a, *prep.* 626, in.
a, *prep.* 1205, 1427, of.
a, *pron.* 746, he.
a! *interj.* 1297, 1532, 1955, 2327, ah!
abandune, *v. t.* 1459, subject.
abiected, *ppl.* 2480, cast out.
abusion, *n. passim*, corrupt or shameful practise (see intro. xlii).
abylement, abylyment, *n.* 2059, 2405, habiliment.
accedat, Lat. vb., after 1966, let him approach.
accompte, *v. t.* 2421, recount, relate.
acheue, *v. t.* 2369, accomplish, perform.
acomberyd, *ppl.* 2215, encumbered, embarassed.
acquite, *v. t.* 1794, fulfil, perform (1530, *N. E. D.* 2).
adinuicem, Lat. adv., before 494, alternately.
adresse, *v. t.* 2493, dress, array.
aduertence, *n.* 42, 1334, 1635, attention, notice.
aduertysment, *n.* 196, precept, instruction.
aduysement, *n.* 2406, attention,
affeccyon, *n.* 1470, bent, inclination.
affray, *v. t.* 2489, daunt, disturb.
affyaunce, *n.* 2496, confidence.
aforse, *v. refl.* 2479, exert one's self, do one's best.
agaspe, *v. i.* 1508, gasp (for life).
agayne, *prep.* 1511, against.
alarum! *interj.* 2323.
Albyan, 1502, Albion, England.
Alerycus that rulyd the Gothyaunce by swerd, 1504, Alaric.
Alexander of Macedony kynge, 1466.
all go to all, and, 1710, at bottom, in truth (*see N. E. D.* all, 8 e).
alowde, *ppl.* 533, received.
alowes, bytter, 2354, bitter aloes.
ambulando, Lat. vb., before 573, ambling, stepping high? (cf. Du Cange).
amense, *n.* 9, amends, amendment.
animat, Lat. vb., before 325, = *hortari*, enjoin? (cf. Du Cange).
annexyd, *ppl.* 198, 2463, joined (of persons).
Annot wolde be nyce, 477.
antetyme, *n.* 359, text.
Anwyke, 1122, Anwick (parish in Lincolnshire?)
apayed, *ppl.* 2402, contented.
appetyte, *n.* 733, 1420, 1549, 1793, will, inclination, desire (= liberty, *see* intro. xxxiv).
appose, *v. i.* 1425, dispute, question.
Arabe, 2347, Araby.
arecte, *v. t.* 94, erectyd, *ppl.* 2478, commit, offer, direct (*see* Note).
a retro post, after 2150, from behind.
armys of the dyce, 781, ?
Arthur of Albyan, 1502.
aspectante, Lat. vb., after 1692, beholding.
assayes, at all, 428, 2275, for all purposes; always.
Aungey, 1122, Angers or Anjou.

baby, *n.* 1560, 2069, darling, term of endearment (this sense not given in *N. E. D.*).
Babylon, 1473.
bandyd, *ppl.* 2231, bound.
banne, *vb.* 2238, curse.
barb, *n.* feathers under the beak of a hawk; part of a nun's headdress.
barbyd, *ppl.* 288, wearing a 'barb.'
bare in hande, 352, charge, accuse.
barretum?, *Lat. n.*, after 748, *pillei genus*, a kind of hat (*see* beretum).
basse, *v. t.* 1560, 2069, kiss.
Basyan the bolde, 1503, Antoninu Bassianus Caracalla (*see* Note).
batone?, *n.* 755 (note), staff, club.

batowe, *n.* 755, a short boot? (cf. *N. E. D.* botew.)
bayte, *n.* 442, 1568, allurement, temptation.
baytyd, *ppl.* 1961, worried.
be, *prep.* 1357, 1697, by.
be, wrynge thy, 2187, ? (*see* Note).
becked, well, 928, well-beaked.
bende, *n.* 818, band.
beretum, Lat. n., after 748, = *birretum,* an ecclesiastical hat (Du Cange).
betake, *v. t.* 401, consign, commend.
betell, *n.* 755, staff, club? (*see* Note).
betyme, *adv.* 1118, in good time, seasonably.
blaynes, *n.* 1901, blain, swelling.
blerde, *ppl.* 354, blinded.
bloo, *a.* 2054, blue, livid.
blother, *v. i.* 1038, bluther, blubber.
blurre, *n.* 1180 ? (*N. E. D.* "? = blure, *i. e.* blister, swelling; cf. also blur, blow, blore").
blysse, *v. t.* 2182, blyst, *ppl.* 1622, thrash, drub.
bonne, *n.* 991, good girl, pretty.
botches, *n.* 1902, boil, tumor.
botchment, *n.* 1114, an addition, a 'make up.'
bote of my bale, 2070, remedy of my ill.
botowe, *see* batowe.
bowget, *n.* 2232, bag, wallet.
brace, *v. t.* 1331, 1890, bracyd, *ppl.* 2221, bluster, domineer over.
brace, *v. t.* 1560, embrace.
brake, *n.* 2187, rack, instrument of torture.
brast, *v. i.* 2160, 2557, burst.
brayne, bere a, 1405, be cautious.
breuyate, *v. t.* 2338, abbreviate.
broken, *ppl.* 1587, odd, disjointed?
brothell, *n.* 2106, wretch.
brybaunce, *n.* 1503, plundering? (not in *N. E. D.*). Or for 'bobaunce'?
brybe, *n.* 1665, bribe, mod. sense (1555, *N. E. D.* 2 b).
bryboury, brybery, *n.* 1227, 1354, pilfering, plundering.
brydyll, rynne on the, 2136, run on the bridle, run wild.
brymly, *adv.* 1246, fiercely.
brymme, *a.* 1502, fierce, furious.
buccat, Lat. vb., after 2150, blows?
budge furre, 1058, lamb's skin fur.
buskyn, *n.* 755, 853, boot or half-boot.
bussheth, *v.* 835, grow thick like a bush.
butterflye, a Frenche, 1051.
butterflye, hawketh for a, 575.
buttes, *n.* 294, butt, target.
by, *v. t.* 10, buy, win.
by Cockys body! 682.
by Cockes bones! 2182, 2244.
by Cryst! 922.
by Goddys body! 399, 948.
by Goddes fote! 768.
by Goddes sacrament! 943.
by Hym that crosse kyst! 1416.
by Hym that hell dyd harowe! 1561.
by Jesse! 975.
by Jesu that slayne was with Jewes! 2167.
by lakyn! 338, 506.
by my syers soule! 1088.
by our lakyn! 2209.
by Saynt Mary! 821, 2212.
by Saynt Sym! 585.
by the God holy! 920.
by the harte of God! 1157.
by the rode of Wodstocke Parke! 1210.
bybyll, Folly's, 1221.
bybyll, Jacke a Thrommys, 1427.
bycause, *prep.* 213, in case of.
byll of recorde, 1677, promissory note.
bytter, *n.* 1837, bittern.

C. s., 2126, a hundred shillings.
cache, *v. i.* 1495, run away.
call, make to the, 1573, attract, make obedient to summons (metaphor from falconry).
Calys, 675, Calais.
can, *v. t.* 555, 1067, 1144, 1587, know.
carbuckyls, *n.* 1902, carbuncle, tumor.
carefull, *adj.* 2154, full of care.
carle, *n.* 1820, churl.
carles, *adj.* 288, careless.
Cartage, 1512, Carthage.
cary, *v. i.* 683, manage.
cane, *n.* 1487, khan.
cankard, *adj.* 7578, ill-natured, spiteful.
cappe, *n.* 602, 1031, cope? (seems rather hood than hat; cf. *N. E. D.*).
case, a foles, 1047, a fool's habit (cf. intro. xlvi).
cast, *vb.* 1614, 1726, 2161, vomit.

casuall, *adj.* 2506, precarious.
catell, *n.* 1136, live stock of any kind.
Cato the cane, 1487.
cauell, *n.* 2190, a low fellow.
cause, in some, 212, in some cases.
cawdels, *n.* 2008, caudle, posset.
cayser, *n.* 787, 1215, kaiser, emperor.
caytyfe, *n.* 1946, 50, 54, wretch.
Cerberus the cur dogge of hell, 1495.
Cesar July that no man myght withstande, 1482, Julius Caesar.
chace, fre, 1330, free scope.
chafer, *n.* 450, merchandise.
charge, *n.* 296, 2081, care, heed.
checke, *n.* 297, a bitter reproach.
checke, *v. i.* 1362, clash, quarrel.
checked, *ppl.* 952, given check as in chess.
checke mate, to play with me, 307.
Cherlemayne that mantenyd the nobles of Fraunce, 1501.
cheuysaunce, *n.* 2236, booty.
chydder, *v. i.* 1817, 'chitter,' shiver.
chyncherde, *n.* 2488, niggard, miser.
chysshe, 1118, a pet name?
clappyd, *ppl.* 2272, infected with clap (1658 in *N. E. D.*; clap, *n.* 1587).
clepe, *v. t.* 1802, clip, embrace.
clokys, *n.* 1874, clutches.
clowtes, *n.* 1212, rags, clothes.
Cockes (Cockys) armes! 573, 598, 782, etc.
Cockes bones, Cockys bonys! 801, 961, 1091, etc.
Cockes (Cockys) harte! 596, 780, 808, etc.
Cockes woundes! 572.
Cocke Wat, 1192.
cofer kay, 527, coffer key.
Cokermowthe is a good way hens, 1062, Cockermouth.
Coll wolde go clenly, 476.
coloppe, *n.* 2272, piece of meat.
colusyon, *n. passim*, underhand scheming (see intro. xlii).
colyca passyo, *Lat. n.* 291, for *colica passio*, colic.
Colyn Cowarde, 2192.
come of, 102, come on, come along.
commaunde, *v. t.* 316, commend (*N. E. D.* 17); 318, command.
comon, *n.* 1539, discourse.
comonynge, *v. i.* 1688, conversing.
condycyons, *n.* 2219, manners, behavior.
condyssende, *v. i.* 39, assent (1548 in *N. E. D.*).
consayte, *n.* 60, 191, 1591, 2421, conception, idea (*N. E. D.* 1); 952, favor, esteem (*N. E. D.* 5); 962, 1567, fancy, imagination (*N. E. D.* 7 b); 444, a trick, practise (*N. E. D.* 8 b); 678, 1310, 1452, wit, "gaiety of imagination" (*N. E. D.* 8 d; cf. intro. xli).
contemplacyon, *n.* 1633, request, petition.
contynewe, *n.* 2421, 'contenu,' contents.
conuenyent, *adj.* 173, 219, 2117, suitable.
conuersacyon, *n.* 170, sphere of acquaintance, society (*N. E. D.* 5).
conuey, *v. t.* 1352 ff., conueyed, conuayed, *ppl.* 1336 ff., 1594, manage with secrecy or craft.
conueyaunce, conuayaunce, *n. passim*, cunning, underhand dealing (cf. intro. xlii).
cope, *n.* 601, 605, 1116, hood, monk's hood.
corage, *n.* 47, 2465, 75, 82, desire, inclination, will (cf. intro. xxxiv).
cornu, *Lat. n.*, after 2150, horn.
cornys, newe ale in, 772, ale as drawn off the malt? (cf. *N. E. D.*).
coryed, *ppl.* 1622, 'curried,' drubbed.
cote, *n.* 1177, fool's coat or habit.
coughe me a dawe, 1061, a fole, 1065, to make a fool of me? (probably = coff, buy; cf. *N. E. D.* cough and coff).
countenance, *n. passim*, bearing, demeanor (cf. intro. xli).
counter, *n.* 1172, an imitation coin.
counterfet, *v. t. and ppl.*, *passim*, pretend to be what one is not (cf. intro. xli.).
course, *n.* 213, practise.
courtly, *adj. passim*, pertaining to the court (cf. intro. xlii).
coynes, *n.* 446, coyness.
crafters, *n.* 2456, crafty persons (not in *N. E. D.*).
crake, *v. i.* 775, 812, 875, 1513, boast, brag.
craynge, *ppl.* after 911, crying.
credence, *n.* 2441, credentials.
crema, before 1044, ?
cremia? *Lat. n.*, before 1044, dry or burnt sticks (cf. intro. xlvi, and Note).

croppyd, *ppl.* 47, cut short, clipped.
cruyse, *n.* 2166, earthen pot.
cue, *n.* 36, half a farthing (cf. *N. E. D.* 2).
custrell, *n.* 485, groom of the stable, base fellow.
cut it out of the brode clothe, 146, carry it freely; cf. 'to cut the coat according to the cloth.'
cuttys, *n.* 293, common or laboring horse.
cyatyca, *n.* 1956, sciatica.
Cypyo that noble Cartage wanne, 1512, Scipio.

daggeswane, *n.* 2169, a coarse coverlet.
dalyaunce, *n.* 1524, talk, converse.
dare, *v. i.* 1342, gaze fixedly as if fascinated.
Daryus the doughty cheftayn of Perse, 1488.
Dauncaster, 293, Doncaster.
Dawcocke my dame, 1834.
deambulat, Lat. vb., before 689, promenades.
debarre, *v. t.* 60, exclude, contravene.
decke, *v. t.* 749, cover.
defaute, *n.* 823, fault.
degre, in, 1521, (for 'in gre') kindly.
dell, dele, *n.* 1276, 2171, part, bit.
delyaunce, *n.* 237, delay.
demenaunce, *n.* 1419, etc., demeanor (cf. intro. xli).
deorsum et sursum, Lat. advs., before 573, up and down.
de que pays este vous, Fr. 748, *de quel pays êtes-vous?* of what country are you?
deuorse, *v. t.* 1905, divorce, separate.
deuyse, *u.* 2075, desire, pleasure.
discedant, Lat. vb., after 2276, let them depart.
discedendo, after 2037, as he departs.
do, *v. i.* 619, act.
do away, *v. i.* 397, cease, stop (for 'do way').
dogrell, *adj.* 408, doggerel.
donne, *adj.* 990, dun, dark.
donnysshe, *adj.* 1096, dunnish, dusky (1551, *N. E. D.*).
doteryll, *n.* 1176, doterel, a sort of plover; a dotard.
drammes of deuocyon, 2358.
draw, *ppl.* 2014, drawn over, covered.
drowpy, *adj.* 2018, drooping.
dryfte, *n.* 1731, scheme, device.
dyamounde of dygnyte, 1477.
dynt, *n.* 1486, 1798, 1878, stroke.
dyrysyon, *n.* 700, derision.
dyscrease, *n.* 2516, decrease.
dyscry, *v. t.* 1356, discover, betray.
dyscryue, *v. t.* 2370, examine, probe.
dyscryued, *ppl.* 535 (*for* descried), discovered, betrayed.
dyser, *n.* 1177, a professional fool or jester (*see* Note).
dysposycyons, *n.* 2218, situation, estate.
dysseyued, dyssayued, dyssayuyd, *ppl.* 25, 1652, 2157, deceived.
dyuyles date, in the! 944, 2172, ?
dyuylles torde, the! 397, 1087.

effecte, *n.* 67, purport, essential, 'gist.'
elatissimo, vultu, after 1692, with most lofty air.
elato aspectu, cum, before 573, with lofty look.
electe, *adj.* 1533, elegant.
enbudded, *ppl.* 1554, covered as with buds.
enbawmyd, *ppl.* 1557, endued with balmy fragrance.
enclosed, *ppl.* 2439, put into its cover, sent.
enferre, *v. t.* 59, bring forward, adduce.
Englande, Englonde, 715, 883, 1100.
ensorbyd, *ppl.* 2556, sucked in, swallowed.
enuy, *n.* 1963, ill will.
enuyued, *ppl.* 1551, enlivened.
erectyd, *ppl.* 2478, *see* arecte.
estate, *n.* 2, 370, 736, 1980, 2552, 9, person of estate, dignity (cf. intro. xxxii).
est snaui snago, 1155, ?
ete a flye, 503, be blinded, befooled (cf. *N. E. D.* 1 f).
ete a gnat, 1193, be blinded, befooled.
ete sauce at the Taylers Hall, 1404, be 'saucy.'
exuat, Lat. vb., after 748, pull off.

faciendo multum, before 1044, performing busily, playing pranks?
fallyble, *adj.* 2511, 2518, fallacious.
famine, Lat. n., before 494, *famen*, speech (Du Cange).
fansy, *n. passim*, wilfulness, caprice, fantasticalness (cf. intro. xxxix).

farly, farle, *adj.* 924, 1161, strange, marvelous.
farly, *adv.* 1000, marvelously.
far to call agayne, 9, far to seek.
fat, *n.* 1320, vat, tub.
fauell, *n.* 727, flattery, duplicity.
fawchyn, *v. t.* 2189, cut with a falchion.
fay, in, 2269, in faith.
fayty bone geyte, Fr., 441, *fait à bon get* or *geste*, elegant? (Dyce).
feble-fantastycall, *adj.* 1073.
fede forth a fole, 712, (for fode forth, cf. *N. E. D. sub* fode) beguile a fool.
fee, fe, *n.* 1776, 1967, estate of inheritance.
feffyd, *ppl.* 1536, enfeoffed, invested.
feldfare, *n.* 1838, fieldfare.
felicite, felycyte, *n. passim*, that which causes happiness (cf. intro. xxxiii).
feriendo, Lat. vb., before 1044, beating.
festinacione, cum, after 2276, hastily.
fesycyan, *n.* 2349, physician.
fet, *v. t.* 64, fet, *ppl.* 455, 2071, fetch.
flappe, *v. t.* 1507, strike suddenly.
flery, *vb.* 738, 'fleer,' fawn upon.
flete, *v. i.* 254, float (*N. E. D.* 1); 1081, overflow, abound (*N. E. D.* 8).
flye, ete a, 503.
flye net, cachyd in a, 403.
flye, not worth a, 470.
flye, set not a, 1710, 1889.
flyt, *v. i.* 2465, 2474, remove, depart.
fode, *v. t.* 1698, beguile.
foly, *n. passim*, wickedness, evil; lack of understanding (cf. intro. xl).
fon, *n.* 863, 1186, fool.
fonde, *adj.* 1099, 1455, foolish, silly.
fondnesse, *n.* 1866, foolishness.
fonne, *adj.* 877, foolish, silly.
fonnysshe, *adj.* 1046, foolish.
force, forse, *v. i.* 254, 1672, care.
force, *n.* 1752, importance, matter.
for Cockys harte! 512.
forfende, *v. t.* 1115, 2456, avert, forbid.
forge, *v. t.* 1613, affect, pretend.
for Goddes brede! 1728.
formest, *adj.* 2478, foremost.
for the armys of the dyce! 781.
frame, *v. i.* 1838, succeed, 'go.'
franesy, *n.* 1932, frenzy.
Fraunce, 280, 878, 1501.
free of the dawe, 2090, fond of fooling? (Dyce).
Freer Tucke, 357.
freke, *n.* 657, 1161, man, fellow.
Frenche, 1051.
frounce on the foretop, 1514, to 'curl the hair of' (*N. E. D.* 2).
frubyssher, *n.* 1064, furbisher.
fugientibus, Lat. ppl., before 2325, fleeing.
fumously, *adv.* 2493, furiously, zealously,
furnysshe, *v. t.* 1391, provide for, supply.

gadde, 1302, ? (Dyce, gadding?).
Galba whom his galantys garde for agaspe, 1508 (*see* Note).
gan, *vb. pret.* 1716, did.
gar, garre, *vb.* 1514, 1835, garde, *pret.* 1508, 2067, make, cause.
gardeuyaunce, *n.* 2231, chest for valuables (*Fr. garde-viande*).
garrulantes, Lat. vb., before 494, chattering (= *class.* garrio, -ire; cf. Du Cange).
gaude, *n.* 1829, jest, trick.
gaure, *v. i.* 2247, stare, gape.
geste, gest, *n.* 703, 1097, guest; fellow, 'customer.'
gle, *v. i.* 2067, squint.
glede, *n.* 1048, kite.
glent, *adj.* 981, glowing, lustrous.
glent, *n.* 1668, slip, fall.
Goddes cope! 1116.
Goddys fote! 2216.
God haue mercy, 1314, thank you.
gommes goostly, 2359, spiritual remedies.
gone, *ppl.* 537, undone, ruined.
gorge, cast vp your, 1614, vomit.
Gothyaunce, 1504, Gothic nation?
grame, *v. i.* 1839, fret.
gre, in, 1979, kindly.
greable, *adj.* 199, agreeing.
Grimbaldus, 1156, the dog 'Gryme'?
Gryme, 1119, 1120, 1152.
grope, *v. t.*, gropyd, *ppl.* 291, grasp, seize (*N. E. D.* 3); 2231, search, rummage (*N. E. D.* 3 e); 2377, apprehend mentally (*N. E. D.* 4); 600, 725, examine, probe (*N. E. D.* 4 c).
grote, *n.* 339, 384, 1194, 1207, groat, coin worth 4 d.
gyglynge, *v. i.* 2092, giggling.
Gyl, 287, (Jack and) Gill.
gyn, *n.* 2255, rack, engine of torture? (*N. E. D.* 5).

gyse, *n.* 813, 846, etc., guise, fashion.

haburdashe, *n.* 1280, small wares.
hafter, *n.* 257, 2456, sharper.
haftynge, *n.* 697, subtle dealing.
haftynge, *adj.* 1678, tricky.
halfe strete, 2263, the stews.
halse, *v. t.* 1801, embrace.
Hansy, a Flemynge hyght, 328, Hans.
Hanyball agayne Rome gates that ranne, 1511.
happe, *v. t.* 2037, happed, *ppl.* 2018, 2331, cover, 'tuck up.'
happed, *ppl.* 1984, fortuned, circumstanced.
hardely, herdely, *adv.* 151, 277, firmly (*N. E. D.* 3); 1352, 2087, by all means (*N. E. D.* 9).
harowe, out! 2324.
harre, out of, 913, 2095, out of joint.
hauke, *v. t.* 1563, hawk.
haute, hawte, *adj.* 824, 2223, haughty.
hawe, *n.* 2089, fruit of the hawthorn; thing of no value.
hawk of the towre, 926 (*see* Note).
hawte, *see* haute.
hay! *interj.* 303.
haynyarde, *n.* 1725, mean wretch, niggard? (not in *N. E. D.*, but cf. hayne, heinsby).
Hercules the herdy with his stobburne clobbyd mase, 1494.
herdely, *see* hardely.
hele, *n.* 315, health.
heyre parent, 507, heir apparent.
hobby, *v. i.* 1564, to hawk with a 'hobby.'
hoby, *n.* 1342, 'hobby,' a small falcon flown at larks.
hoddypeke, *n.* 1162, fool, simpleton.
hofte, *n.* 749, head.
hokes, *n.* 1374, wights.
holde, *v. t.* 1194, bet, wager.
holde, *n.* 2544, refuge.
how, howe! *interj.* 1300, 1347, 1953, ho!
hucke, *v. i.* 2121, haggle.
hugger mugger, *adv.* 387, secretly.
hyll, *n.* 2324, hell.

iche, *pron.* 2196, I.
impechment, *n.* 1418, detriment, damage.
incleryd, *ppl.* 2519, 'encleared,' made bright.
inde, *n.* 1553, indigo.
indentures, *n.* 1448, formal inventory.
indeuer, *v. i.* 2564, endure.
in fay! 2269, in faith.
ingrosed, *ppl.* 2438, arranged, put into shape.
inhateth, *v. t.* 2430, hate inwardly or intensely? (*N. E. D.*).
in manus tuas, Lat. 2044, the text used by repentant criminals at execution.
inpurtured, *ppl.* 1552, portrayed, delineated? (*N. E. D.*, *sub* emporture, "meaning obscure").
interlude, 2519.
inwyt, *adj.* 1356, inward, secret?
ironice, Lat. adv. after 748, derisively.
Israell, 1474.
iwys, *adv.* 973, 1176, indeed, truly.

Jacke and Gyl, 287.
Jacke a Thrommys bybyll, 1427.
Jacke Hare, 758.
Jacke of the Vale, 258.
iaggynge, *adj.* 2097, slashing (of a garment).
iangelynge, *adj.* 258, chattering.
iangelynge, *n.* 262, chattering.
iangle, *v. i.* 565, chatter, quarrel.
iarfawcon, *n.* 1812, gerfalcon.
iauell, *n.* 2191, 2211, a low fellow, rascal.
Jenkyn Joly, 919.
iet it, *vb.* 465, 963, strut, swagger.
iet, the newe, 453, 877, the new style.
ietter, *n.* 796, swaggerer, 'spark.'
iettynge, *adj.* 2097, strutting, boastful.
Jhesus, 2567.
Johñ a Bonam, 1205.
Johñ de Gay, 961.
Johñ Double-Cope, Syr, 605.
Johñ, Syr, 1187.
iurde hayte, Fr.? 579, ?

Kent, 983.
kesteryll, *n.* 1175, kestrel, a small hawk.
knackynge ernyst, 33, downright earnest.
knokylbonyarde, *n.* 480, a clumsy fellow.
koy, *adj.* 1247, disdainful; 1583, coy, sly.
kynde, *n.* 132, 1441, 2326, nature.

lacke, *n.* 720, 2528, blame.

lap, *v. t.* 2011, lapped, *ppl.* 1985, wrap; involve.
large, *n.* 180, freedom.
large, *adj.* 295, unrestrained, gross.
largesse, *n. passim*, liberality (cf. intro. xl).
lasshe, *n.* 2165, blow.
lazars, *n.* 1904, lepers.
le, on the, 2068, on the lea (fragment of a song?).
lectuary, *n.* 2355, electuary.
lese, *v. t.* 1260, lose.
leuandum, ad, after 1966, to lift up.
leue, *adj.* 2515, dear, agreeable.
Lewes of Fraunce, Kynge, 280, Louis XII.
leyre, *n.* 1555, face, complexion.
leysshe of ratches, *n.* 586, a leash, *i. e.* three.
locabit, Lat. vb., after 1966, shall put.
locum, Lat. n., exeat locum, before 240, *discedant a loco*, after 2276, leave the stage?
locum stratum, after 1966, pavement? or coverlet, couch (cf. l. 2011)?
losell, losyll, *n.* 200, 1824, 1880, 1886, a good-for-nothing.
loute, lowte, *v. i.* 1500, 1623, 1779, bow, stoop.
luge, *n.* 2334, 'lodge,' prison.
lurden, lurdayne, *n.* 418, 1722, 1824, 1887, 2112, a vagabond, sluggard.
lure, made to the, 17, caught, brought to hand (metaphor from falconry; *see* Note).
lust, lustys, *n.* 1886, 2487, desire, inclination.
lustely, *adv.* 1565, 2150, heartily, gladly.
lusty, *adj.* 965, 1452, before 2160, merry, cheerful (*N. E. D.* 1 b; cf. intro. xlii); 1558, 1559, 1564, 2145, pleasing, beautiful (*N. E. D.* 2 a); 760, handsome in dress (*N. E. D.* 2 b).
lyberte, *n. passim*, faculty or power to do as one likes (cf. intro. xxxiv).
lydderyns, *n.* 1919, rascal.
lyft, *v. t.* 1357, steal.
lykelyhod, be, 1697, probably, as it appeared.
lyme rodde, 1815, lime twig.
lyppers, *n.* 1904, lepers.
lyste, *n.* 1201, band, stripe.
lyther, *adj.* 200, 1232, wicked (*N. E. D.* 1); 2038, withered (*N. E. D.* 2).
lyther, lythers, *n.* 1267, 1269, bad men (*N. E. D.* 1 b).
lytherly, *adv.* 723, wickedly.

Macedony, 1466.
Mackemurre, 1057 (*see* Note).
maddynge, *n.* 285, mad behavior.
made mekyll of, 430, made much of.
made of, 172, used.
made of page, 2542, made page of.
made to the lure, 17, *see* lure.
magnyfycence, *n. passim*, princely munificence or bounty; glory or greatness of name (cf. intro. xxxii).
malarde, *n.* 927, mallard, wild drake.
male, *n.* 2232, bag, wallet.
malypert, *adj.* 1362, impudent, 'saucy.'
mamockes, *n.* 2009, scraps, shreds.
man, *vb.* 1500, must.
mande, *ppl.* 436, provided with followers, manned.
Marche hare, mery as a, 922 (1529 in *N. E. D.*).
mare, away the! 1326.
Margery Mylke Ducke, 457.
marmoll, *n.* 1906, ulcer, sore.
marmosete, mermoset, *n.* 457, 1133, marmoset, monkey (term of endearment).
maskyd, masked, *ppl.* 30, 458, meshed, enmeshed.
masshe fat, 1320, mashing-vat for malt.
mastryes, maystryes, *n.* 1191, 1716, feat, trick; it is no maystery, 150, it is no great achievement.
mater, *n.* 2547, production, play.
mayntayne, *pret.* mantenyd, *v. t.* 1501, keep, rule (*N. E. D.* 6); 157, uphold, support (*N. E. D.* 12).
maysterfest, *adj.* 2544, bound to a master.
mell, *v. i.* 1497, meddle.
memory, *n.* 1447, record, memorial.
mermoset, *see* marmosete.
mese, *n.* 997, group, set.
metely, *adv.* 2170, passably, moderately.
metely, *adj.* 2475, fitting, proper.
mew, in the, 35, in the hawk's coop, in confinement.
meyne, mene, *n.* 137, 1463, an intermediate part in a musical composition, *intercentus* (*see* Note).
moght, a Spaynysshe, *n.* 1201, moth.
molde, *n.* 1505, earth.

mone, fer beyonde the, 224.
motton, *n.* 2265, prostitutes.
mouyd, *ppl.* 2547, performed.
murre, *n.* 2259, "a violent cold, similar to the pose, but more characterized by hoarseness" (Nares).
muster, *v. i.* 736, whisper? (*Prompt. Parv.*).
myschefe, mischeffe, 1730, 2309, 2338, injury, destruction (cf. intro. xliii).
myscheuynge, *v. t.* 2342, myscheued, *ppl.* 2332, destroy, hurt.

narde, *n.* 2345, nard.
negarde, nygarde, *n.* 388, 2488, niggard.
negarshyp, *n.* 2489, niggardliness.
neglygesse,? *n.* 2380 (for neglygence).
Nero that nother set by God nor man, 1509.
no nother, 1978, none other.
noppe, *n.* 448, nap.
nother, *conj.* 188, 759, 1509, 2142, neither.
nyce, nyse, *adj.* 2092, foolish (opposed to 'wyse,' line above; *N. E. D.* 1); 459, extravagant, flaunting in dress (*N. E. D.* 2 c); 477, coy, affectedly modest (*N. E. D.* 5).
nyfyls, *n.* 1143, trifles.
nygarde, *see* negarde.
nyse, *see* nyce.
nysot, *n.* 1229, lazy jade? (Dyce); evidently from "nyse."
nysyte, *n.* 478, coyness, affected modesty.

occacyon, *n.* 1600, occasion of attacking or fault-finding, a 'handle.'
occupy, occupye, *v. t.* occupyed, *ppl.* 428, 705, employ, engage (of a person, *N. E. D.* 4); 425, 472, 1456, 2129, 2131, use (of a thing, *N. E. D.* 5).
odly, *adv.* 533, 1605, singularly, remarkably.
or, *conj.* 339, 2474, etc., ere, before.
Oracius in his volumys olde, 114, Horace.
ordenaunce, ordynaunce, *n.* 234, plan, arrangement (*N. E. D.* 3); 181, 2467, decree (*N. E. D.* 9).
order whyle, 689, dispose of time?
ornacy, *n.* 1531, ornateness.
Oryent, 1467.
other, *conj.* 93, either.
ouer all, 20, 1464, 1574, 1759, everywhere, in every direction.
ouerwharte, *adj.* 562, 'overthwart,' testy, 'cross.'
owle flyght, out of, 671.

packe, *v. i.* 1774, take one's self off, 'go packing.'
pagent, *n.* 505, part in a play; a part acted to deceive.
parcell, *n.* 55, part, portion.
partys, *n.* 1463, voices in concerted music.
patlet, *n.* 2074, a woman's ruff; same as 'partlet.'
paynte, *v. t.* 724, payntyd, *ppl.* 1860, feign, counterfeit.
peke, *v. i.* 658, 'peek,' peep, pry.
peraduertaunce, *n.* 2468, thorough carefulness or attention.
perde! 1308.
perplexyte, *n.* 1461, intricacy, entanglement.
Perse, 1488, Persia.
Pers Pykthanke, 1268.
Phylyp Sparowe, 1562, a darling.
place, *n.* 690, after 824, before 829, before 1327, before 1457, after 1724, after 1796, the stage?
playnesse, *n.* 630, the plain truth.
plenarly, *adv.* 207, fully, entirely.
plete, *vb.* 2035, plead, maintain a plea.
Pluto, 1496.
poddynge prycke, *n.* 2122, pudding prick, skewer that fastened the pudding bag.
pollynge, *n.* 1753, plundering, extortion.
pomped, *ppl.* 2012, pampered.
ponder, *v. i.* 118, weigh, reflect.
pope holy, *adj.* 467, hypocritical.
poppynge, *adj.* 232, blabbing, monstrous (*see* Note).
Porcenya the prowde prouoste of Turkey lande, 1480, Porsena.
porte, *n.* 1471, 1540, 2563, bearing, reputation.
pose, *n.* 825, 2259, "a cold, or defluxion from the head" (Nares).
postyke, *n.* 649, ? (*see* pystell).
potecary, *n.* 2351, apothecary.
pot sharde, *n.* 2124, potsherd.
Pountesse, Pountes, 343, 2439, Pontoise.
poynte, *v. t.* 726, prick, puncture (the secrets of).

poynted, *ppl.* 962, 'appointed,' equipped.
poynte deuyse, Fr., 843, 1540, pointdevice, perfectly.
prane, *n.* 1489, prawn, thing of no value.
prece, *v. i.* 591, seek earnestly, solicit; 1582, press, hasten.
precely, *adv.* 2548, concisely, succinctly.
preposytour, *n.* 1941, a scholar appointed to overlook the rest, prefect.
prese, *n.* 996, press, crowd.
prest, *adj.* 844, neat, comely.
preue, *vb.* 33, 909, prove.
probate, *n.* 4, test.
probleme, *n.* 2500, question with discussion of it.
processe, *n.* 2477, 2478, 2505, discussion, story, play.
pronge, *n.* 501, prank? (Dyce).
properanter, Lat. adv., before 494, hastily.
proue, *v. t*, 2371, proued, prouyd, *ppl.* 16, 1471, test, establish.
prycke, poddynge, *see* poddynge prycke.
pryckyd with such a prowde pynne, 784.
pullyshyd, *ppl.* 1531, polished.
pultre, *n.* 1136, poultry or any domesticated bird.
purposyd, *ppl.* 2541, proposed, put forward.
purueaunce, *n.* 880, provision.
pusyllanymyte, *n.* 206.
put, *v. i.* 1330, go, move.
put the stone, 406, cast the stone, waste time.
pyke, *v. i.* 947, make off, be off.
pylde, *adj.* 1055, 6, 'pilled,' bald.
pynche, *v. i.* 384, 5, be stingy.
pystell, *n.* 649, epistle; or, story, discourse.
pystell of a postyke, 649, ? (Does this mean 'epistle with a postscript'?).

quatiendo (or *quassando*?), *Lat. vb.*, before 1044, shaking, rattling.
quecke, *adv.* 2044, quickly.
qui fuit, 1302, 3, deceased, defunct? (Du Cange).
qui fuit aliquid, 1304, who was something.
quod he? 585, quoth he, forsooth, indeed.
quyckely, quyckly, *adv.* 1549, 1551, in a lively manner.
quyte, *v. t.* 688, quit, acquit; 1877, requite.

rammysshe, *adj.* 1807, wild.
ranke, *adj.* 1267, corrupt.
ratches, *n.* 586, a dog that hunts by scent.
rather, *adv.* 1314, sooner.
ratyd, *v. t.* 1481, chide, scold.
ratyfye, *v. t.* 2398, confirm, consummate.
rauener, *n.* 2191, robber, plunderer.
Raynes, shertes of, 2016, shirts of linen made at Rennes.
rechate, *v. i.* 2151, sound a 'recheat,' recall.
reche at, *v. t.* 1809, reach at, aim at.
rechery, *n.* 2554, riches (for richery?).
recorde, *n.* 114, 309, testimony, witness.
redlesse, *adj.* 2417, devoid of counsel.
redresse, *n.* 2413, 2417, 2503, correction, amendment (cf. intro. xxxix).
redresse, *v. t.* 2414, correct, amend.
refrayne, *v. t.* 2474, question, examine.
refused, *v. t.* 281, avoid, omit.
regardes, Fr. vb., 1198, *regardez-vous*, look.
rehayted, *ppl.* 1658, hated again? (Dyce; cf. inhateth) or, rebuked, rated? (*N. E. D.* "meaning obscure").
rehersse, *v. t.* 1490, mention, cite.
relucent, *adj.* 1556, bright, refulgent.
repente, Lat. adv., before 2325, hastily, suddenly.
reporte me to, I, *v. refl.* 280, I appeal to, cite.
reporte, *n.* 1541, commendation (1588 in *N. E. D.*).
repare, made my, 2394, resorted.
repryuable, *adj.* 1419, reprovable.
requiem eternam, 2260.
rest, *n.* 136, wrist.
retchlesse, *adj.* 2133, reckless, heedless.
Romaynes, 1481.
Rome gates, 1511.
ronner, *n.* 1811, runner, fugitive (Dyce).
Rowlande the reue, 1831.
rowne, *v. i.* 1645, whisper.

rubarbe of repentaunce, 2357.
rudyes, *n.* 1551, ruddy hues?
rughe, *adj.* 448, rough.
rughly, *adv.* 1884, roughly.
rule the reyne, 1460.
rule the rost, 804, 5.
russhe, *v. i.* russhe it out, 847, swagger? (cf. Nares, "rush-buckler = swash-buckler"); russheth, 837, rustle?
rusty, *adj.* 758, uncivil, surly.
rutter, *n.* 752, 1288, gallant, man of fashion.
rutterkyn, *n.* 747, diminutive of rutter (*see* Note).
rutty bully ioly rutterkyn heyda! 747.
ruttyngly, *adv.* 838, gallantly.
ryd thy selfe, 2307, 2315, despatch thyself.

sacke, to bere the deuyls, 721.
sad, sadde, *adj.* 16, 149, 1010, 1690, sober, serious.
sadly, *adv.* 1940, soberly.
sadnesse, *n.* 468, 680, 681, 1366, 2471, seriousness, gravity.
same, togyder in, 548, together.
sawte, sautes, *n.* 1581, 2329, assault.
say vous chaunter, Fr. 750, *savez-vous chanter*? can you sing?
scabbe, *n.* 1124, mange.
scabbed, *adj.* 2019, mangy.
scrat, *v. t.* 1299, scratch.
seasyd, *ppl.* 1536, 'seized,' possessed.
sekernesse, sykernesse, *n.* 2028, 2510, 2517, security.
semblaunt, maketh, after 1198, after 1207, pretendeth.
sensim, Lat. adv., before 325, softly.
sentence, *n.* 2464, opinion, sentiment.
shakynge nought, shyre, 1304, just nothing.
shrewdenes, *n.* 735, wisdom, circumspection.
shrowde, *n.* 532, covert, retreat of any kind.
skante, *adv.* 806, hardly, scarcely.
skelpe, *v. t.* 2180, 1, strike, slap.
skyll, *n.* 148, etc., circumspection, reason (cf. intro. xxxvii).
skyll, *v. i.* 1361, know how; *v. imp.* it shall not gretely skyll, 1596, 2138, it does not signify.
smater, *v. i.* 1258, talk superficially or ignorantly.
snyte, *n.* 1840, snipe.
solacyusly, *adv.* 2367, for solace or comfort.
sonde, *n.* 2360, a sending, visitation.
sowter, *n.* 1825, shoemaker.
Spaynysshe moght with a gray lyste, 1201.
sped, spedde, *ppl.* 556, 722, versed; 1571, successful.
spell, *v. t.* 619, expel.
spence, *n.* 2125, expense.
spere, *n.* 938, spire, shoot, stripling? (Dyce).
sporne, *v i.* 2247, spurn.
sprynge, *v. i.* 1070, grow, spring up.
spyll, *v. t.* 1478, 2139, destroy.
starke, *adj.* 481, 1209, big and clumsy, strong.
state, *n.* 383, 946, person of estate, dignity (*see* estate).
stow, stowe, *interj.* 912, 918, 968, a call used for hawks (*see* Note).
strayte, *adv.* 1592, straightway.
streynes, *n.* 1553, strains.
stronge, *adj.* 1360, bold, reckless.
Stroude to Kent, from, 983.
stuse, *n.* 1226, stews.
subscrybe, *v. t.* 1666, sign, attest.
substaunce, *n.* 1407, 1445, wealth, felicity (cf. intro. xxxiii).
sufferayne, *n.* 1271, sovereign.
supplye, *v. i.* 797, supplyed, *ppl.* 1663, supplicate.
supportacyon, *n.* 61, assistance, support.
surripiat illi gladium, before 2325, let him snatch away the sword from him.
sursum, Lat. adv., before 573, up.
suspenso gradu, before 325, on tiptoe.
swap it, thy slyppers, 765, are odd ones? or, swapping great ones? (Dyce). Or, slap (being loose)?
syar, syer, *n.* 1081, 1473, 1834, sire, lord.
syke, *adj.* 1091, 1833, such.
sykernesse, *see* sekernesse.
Sym Sadylgose my syer, 1834.
Sym, by Saynt, 585.
Symkyn Tytyuell, 1268.
synguler, *adj.* 317, unique, special.
Syrus that soleme syar of Babylon, 1473, Cyrus.
syse, *n.* 845, size, measure, standard.

syttynge, *adj.* 176, 2561, becoming, proper.

tabulas, Lat. n., before 1044, pieces of wood, or musical instrument (*see* Note).
tacke, holde, 2084, keep at bay (Nares), hold fast, hold out.
taken, *ppl.* 344, 1763, given, committed.
tangyd, *ppl.* 2234, flavored, spiced.
tappet, *n.* 1234, tapestry.
tappyster, *n.* 420, female tapster, coarse wench.
tawle, *adj.* 821, brave, bold.
Taylers Hall, 1404.
tende, *v. i.* 790, intend: 1019, attend.
tetter, *n.* 543, a disease of the skin.
the, *pron.* 269, 303, 538, etc., thee.
thee, *v. i.* 515, 635, 862, thrive.
theke, *v. t.* 1027, thatch, roof.
Thesius that prowde was Pluto to face, 1496.
this, *adv.* 487, 488, 1043, thus.
thought, *n.* 207, circumspection, reason (cf. intro. xxxvii); 1969, sorrow.
throte bole, *n.* 2315, the Adam's apple.
torde, *n.* 397, 1087, a piece of dung.
to to, *adv.* 872, 2095, too too, altogether too or too much.
totum in toto, 2089, 2099, all in all, unlimited?
Toure Hyll, 2140, Tower Hill, place of execution.
trace, *v. i.* 692, march, pace.
trace, out of, 914, out of the traces.
treatyse, *n.* 2533, discussion, play.
Trent, 982.
Troy, bought and solde for money, 1576.
trusse, *v. i.* 1774, go packing, begone.
trymynge and tramynge, 2234, puny efforts?
Turky lande, 1480, Etruria.
Tyburne, 423, place of execution.
tyll sone, adue, 967.
tyll sone, fare well, 319, 1850.
Tyne to Trent, from, 982.
tysyke, *n.* 555, phthisic, phthisis.
Tytyuell, Symkyn, 1268.

vnhappely, *adv.* 6, evilly.
vnhappy, *adj.* 1374, 2337, 2452, knavish, wicked.
vnlykynge, *adj.* 1958, in poor condition.
vpon three, counterfet, 492, ?
vryd, *adj.* 6, disposed (*see* Note).
vtter, *adv.* 753, outside, out of the way.

vagys, *n.* 1942, vagaries, strayings.
vantonnesse, *n.* 2504, wantonness.
Vaspasyan that bare in his nose a waspe, 1510 (*see* Note).
velyarde, *n.* 1878, old man, dotard.
"*Venter tre dawce*," *Fr.* 750, "*Ventre très doux*" (first line of a song?).
vergesse, *n.* 1756, verjuice, liquor of crabapples or green grapes.
uilis imago, 1155, a "shrewde face."
uocitando, Lat. vb., before 325, calling out.
voyde, *v. t.* 297, avoid, refute.
voyes vous, Fr., 1198, *voyez-vous*, look you.
vyser, *n.* 1178, the fool's mask.

walter, *v. i.* 1910, totter, tumble.
wambleth, *v. i.* 1617, heave, be nauseated.
wamblynge, *n.* 1620, nausea.
wanhope, *n.* 2337, 40, despair (cf. intro. xliii).
warent, *v. t.* 506, assure, guarantee.
warke, *n.* 1095, business, complication.
wary, *v. t.* 2238, curse.
wed, to, 2168, pledged, pawned.
weltyth, *v. t.* 1363, overturn (*Manip. Voc.*).
weryed, *ppl.* 1568, wearied, satiated.
whylest, whylyst, *conj.* 324, 685, 1323, 1563, until.
wode, *adj.* 2556, mad.
Wodstocke Parke, by the rode of, 1210.
woke, wokys, *n.* 1003, 1682, weeks.
wonnys, wonneth, *v. i.* 22, 624, dwells.
worldly, *adj.* 2054, tempest?
worshyp, *n.* 267, 1408, 1934, 2470, honor, dignity (cf. intro. xxxii).
wortes, *n.* 1129, vegetables.
worthe, take it in, 1439, take it in good part.
wrastynge, *adj.* 1608, 'wresting,' arbitrary.

wroken, *ppl.* 1566, 'wreaked,' satiated (cf. *Piers Plowman*, B. ix. 181).
wrothsome, *adj.* 2293, ill-tempered.
wrythyng, *n.* 136, turning.
wrythynge, *adj.* 1608, twisting, capricious.
wyda, Fr., 751, *oui-da*, yes indeed.
wynche, *v. i.* 2023, 'wince,' kick.
wynde, *v. i.* 2340, wend, go.
wyte, *v. t.* 2304, blame.

yarke, *v. t.* 484, 'yerk,' strike, lash.
ydder, a kowes, *n.* 1814, udder.

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LIFE.

I was born at Sumter, South Carolina, December 14, 1880; attended Davidson College (1896–1897) and Johns Hopkins University (1897–1898); and received the degree of A.B. from Fredericksburg College in 1899. The next year I spent as Professor of English at Fredericksburg College. In October, 1900, I entered the English Seminary of the Johns Hopkins University. My subordinate subjects were Greek and French. I was appointed Student Assistant in 1903, and was Fellow in English in 1904–1905. To all of my instructors I desire to make grateful acknowledgement of their unfailing helpfulness and courtesy. I am especially indebted to the inspiring instruction of Professor Gildersleeve. My deepest obligation is to Professor Bright, for the example of his thorough scholarship and the stimulus of his patient direction of my studies.